

Gifford—Tongan Society

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DAUGHTERS AND SONS

Daughters are given much attention, especially by the mother's relatives. ⁵⁹³
The choicest horses, pigs, and other valuables are reserved for them, particularly for an older daughter.

Because a double standard of morality prevails, girls are strictly guarded, ⁵⁶²
boys are given great freedom. The term *manaia* (one who is unusually successful in love affairs) is often applied to the chief's son. (See also 41, ⁶²²
vol. 2, pp. 157.) ⁸³³

As heir apparent to his father's position as male head of the family, ⁵⁹³
the first-born son enjoys a certain prestige. On Vavau Island, two places, ⁴²⁸
Makave and Feletoa, are traditionally associated with first-born sons. Near ³⁴⁹
the village of Makave is a coral wall called Kilikilitefua, some pieces not exceeding a man's foot in size, others too heavy for two men to carry. It is now dilapidated, but originally it was 250 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 5 or 6 feet high. Its origin is generally ascribed to a custom of the parents of every first-born son in Makave to carry a stone to the pile. No clear reason for doing this could be learned, except that of emulating a parallel custom said to have been practiced at the village of Feletoa, also in Vavau Island. At Feletoa the fathers of first-born sons struck the ground at a certain spot with the butt of a large stick (*tukitou*) of *tou* wood. The large ⁵⁹³
depression traditionally alleged to have been caused by the poundings is ¹⁰³
called Tukitou.

BROTHER-SISTER TAPU

An outstanding feature of Tongan family life which seems to have ⁵⁹³
permeated society from the lowest stratum to the highest is the brother- ⁷⁸⁴
sister tapu, called by one informant *fakaapaapa*, a word with a wide application, which means among other things "to reverence, to respect, to honor." ⁶⁰⁵
The workings of this tapu are as follows.

Individuals who are brother (*tuongaane*) and sister (*tuofine*), whether lineal or collateral, that is, whether true brother and sister or only cousins, may not be near each other in a house. If a man is talking to other women, his sister must not approach him, and if he is talking to them in a room she may not enter it. If a man were sitting in a house, his sister might enter, but might not sit near him. In the same way a man must not take a seat near his sister nor even enter the house where she is. It is improper even to mention a man to his sister. Usually brothers and sisters do not live in the same house after ten years of age; nor do they play together. If a boy approaches a house where children are playing and finds his sister there, he does not enter. Nowadays brother and sister may eat together

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TUI TONGA

The following information has been obtained regarding the Tui Tonga listed on page 50:

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1. Ahoaitu, the legendary first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended on December 9, 1865, with the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth ruler of the line, was the reputed son of a Tongan woman and a sky-god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua. While visiting his celestial father, Ahoaitu was killed by his half brothers. After his resurrection he was sent by his father down to Tonga to become its ruler. With him came his brothers who occupied subordinate positions. "Ahoaitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first [divine] Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced." (26, pp. 25, 38.)

The non-supernatural features of this legend suggest the beginning of a new line of rulers from the union of a woman of the earlier Tongan population with an immigrant or newly risen chief. The approximate date is believed to be 950 A. D.

The five celestial paternal half brothers, who descended from the sky with Ahoaitu, served him as subordinates in certain capacities. Three of these five are said to have representatives to-day in Tonga, not necessarily lineal descendants, for the names are really titles of offices which may be filled from collateral lines of relatives. The five half brothers of Ahoaitu and their representatives were: Talafale (Tui Faleua), represented today by Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, with no known representative; Maliepo, represented by Lauaki; Tui Loloko, represented by Tui Loloko; Tui Folaha, with no known representative.

2-9. Lolofakangalo, Fangaoneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Apuanea, Afu-lunga. Of the seven Tui Tonga who succeeded Ahoaitu there are known only the names and the statement that son succeeded father, until Momo, the tenth ruler of the line.

10. Momo. If the account is to be trusted, Momo chose as his chief wife Nua, the daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea of central Tongatabu. This custom of selecting a daughter of a powerful chief of Tongatabu as wife and mother of the new king prevailed thenceforth throughout the whole history of the dynasty. Within the last four centuries the daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu was selected. The mythical origin of kava would seem to be connected with Momo's reign, inasmuch as it is the chief Loau of Haamea who plays a leading part in the tale (26, pp. 71-75). However, as there seems to have been more than one chief with the name of Loau this is not absolutely certain.

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Apparently the Loau of Momo's time bore the full name of Loau Tuputoka. A chief of that name visited Savaii Island, Samoa, in Momo's reign, at the time the carapace of the famous turtle, Sangore, was reputed to have been buried (26, pp. 49-54). To Loau Tongafisifonua of perhaps another reign is attributed the famous voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152).

The reign of Momo must have been traditionally important for a proverbial expression (*hau 'o Momo*) refers to it. In his day, and in fact down through the time of Takalaua, the Tui Tonga was the temporal ruler (*hau*), as well as the sacred ruler.

It was apparently in Momo's reign or in that of his predecessor that the royal residence was moved from central or southeastern Tongatabu to Heketa, northeastern Tongatabu.

11. King Tuitatui, who reigned about 1200 A. D., left his mark in Tongan legendary history. Even an alleged peculiarity of head form is recorded, and what was believed to be his skull was unearthed in Heketa, Tongatabu, some years ago. He is the reputed builder of the Trilithon. During his reign, the capital was at Heketa, near the famous structure (26, pp. 48-49). There Tuitatui erected the two royal tombs, Langi Heketa and Langi Moungalafa, presumably for his father and himself.

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Tuitatui's predilection for the fair sex is illustrated in two tales (26, pp. 46-48), one concerning incest with his sister Latutama, the other with winning the maiden Nua. The recovery of the buried carapace of the famous turtle Sangone was accomplished by Fasiapule, the king's maternal half brother (op. cit., pp. 49-54). Prince Tungi possesses a piece of turtle-shell fishhook, reputed to be made from this carapace. Tuitatui is said to have died in the mountainous island of Eua, whence Fasiapule, his faithful half brother, transported his body to Tongatabu for burial (op. cit., p. 45). An Eua informant, Fakatene, said that the king died at Tuutuu, near Kolomaile. 173 175 643

One version of the story about the Tongan hero Muni states, perhaps wrongly, that Muni's mother embarked on one of the Tuitatui's vessels on the fatal voyage during which she fell a victim to the cannibal oven. (See 26, p. 120.)

Tuitatui is said to mean "king who strikes the knee," referring to the Tui Tonga's custom of hitting with a long stick the knees of his matapule when they came too close. Tuitatui is reputed to have thus established the custom of keeping the matapule at a respectable distance on ceremonial occasions. His reason for this practice is said to have been the fear of assassination, because several [sic.] Tui Tonga had been killed at kava ceremonies by their matapule. The Falefa matapule who attended the Tui Tonga were induced by scheming great chiefs to murder them, in order that some relative of the schemers might ascend the throne. As the Falefa were foreigners (*muhi*) they were not subject to the curse which would fall upon a native Tongan for touching the Tui Tonga's person. (Actually, there is no tradition of the murder of any king before the nineteenth Tui Tonga.) 644

12. Talatama. The twelfth king seems to have been the son of Tuitatui who with his brother Talaihaapepe is said to have assisted in the erection of the great trilithon (26, pp. 30, 46). One native account says that the trilithon was made by Tuitatui's sons, Uanga (Talatama?) and Afulunga (Talaihaapepe?). While they were constructing it, Tuitatui died. After their father's death Talatama and his brother Talaihaapepe moved the capital to Lapaha where there was sheltered anchorage for their two favorite vessels (26, pp. 30, 46). Their sister Fatafehi, the Female Tui Tonga, by her silence gave consent to the removal. Another version, however, makes her the instigator of the move: Some-time after the completion of the trilithon, Fatafehi said to the new king, "Let us move from this locality, for I am tired of the noise of the surf on the rocks." So they moved and Fatafehi said, "Goodbye noisy rocks (Utulongoa)," hence the name of the place to-day. 349

Concerning the reign of Talatama, Krämer (36, vol. 1, p. 468) says: "Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass eine Verbindung mit dem 'Ali'atama in Manu'a besteht, welcher vielmehr als Karika in Rarotonga bekannt ist."

The royal residence was then erected at Lapaha. There was constructed the royal tomb called Langi Leka. (See also 26, p. 49.) It was the first of the great series of royal tombs to be built at Maa. Some generations later the Female Tui Tonga Sinaitakala I was buried there. 764

13. Tuitonga Nui Tamatou. Tui Tonga Talatama lacked a male heir, apparently for the first time in the history of the dynasty. Talaihaapepe did not directly succeed his brother on the throne. To meet this situation a fictitious king (Tuitonga Nui Tamatou), represented by a dummy of *ton* wood, was provided and declared to be the son of Talatama and father of Talaihaapepe (26, p. 30). McKern, who excavated the terraced tomb reputed to be the burial place of the wooden dummy, found no trace of human bones. The dummy would naturally have rotted away long since.

Krämer writes (36, vol. 1, p. 468):

"Um diese Zeit heiratete die Tochter des Tuitoga mit Namen Laufafa e Toga den Tupa'imatuna, den Sohn des Lealali (p. 84 gen 13) aus deren Ehe viele Savai'i-Familien sich herleiteten. Sie wird als eine Tochter des Tuitogamania und der Nafanua ausgegeben (III. b. 9. gen 11 p. 96). Von ihm und Lautivunia siehe die Geschichte V. c. 4 und IV. C. c. 1. Nach Fraser No. 5 soll der Sohn des Lautivunia den Bruder seines Vaters totgeschlagen haben und selbst Tuitoga geworden sein."

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official named Uto [probably Kolomoeto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapilololo. The second was Siamaka. The third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituhaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamaufautu in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muiroa in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluiapaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. All Haapai furnished laborers for this work.

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low tide and it was called Taemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tama-tuiamee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 94, 344). 643
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The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given the land around which he ran without a spell. 643
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Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his retinue. 643
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The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weighing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks must have required the labor of large numbers of men. 643
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The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double vessel *Lomiyeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the beginning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work, it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of centralized control of labor. [712]

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuata as a rest mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42). 643
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If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's discretion. 643
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of Tongatabu. On the other side were men from Vaini, Folaha, Pea, and Nukualofa (all in the Loto [middle] District of Tongatabu), from Hihifo District of Tongatabu, and from Fiji. These two lines of antagonists fought a *falalafa* (a sham battle with coconut fronds). Apparently a blow anywhere was fair. The people of Eua were particularly expert at this game. Toamalanga controlled the combat. When he thought that it had progressed far enough he ordered the Hihifo party to desist: "Loloi matanga ki Hihifo." (Sit down all westerners.) When they had responded, he ordered the Hahake (Eastern) party down. Immediately they sat down. Then Toamalanga made a speech in which he admonished the people: "Behave well because his majesty the Tui Tonga (Afio ae Tui Tonga) is here. Do not fight and make trouble."

After Toamalanga's speech the people again stood up. The priests (*taula tevolo*) of various places and (or) their representatives had brought yams called *ufimahaki* (sick yam) the significance of which I could not learn. The representative of the priest of Holonga brought the first yam. Two men carried a long coconut-leaf basket (*faka'oumasi*) on a pole. The basket contained only banana leaves, most of the real yams being piled up behind the assembled people. Then followed the representative of the priest of Vaini with a real yam (*kahokaho*, a kind particularly reserved for chiefs). Next followed the representatives of the priest of Houma, also with a *kahokaho* yam. Hamula was next in line³. In carrying the yams each of these places was represented by three men. Two men supported the ends of the pole on their shoulders, the third supported the yam with his hand. The pole was carried on the left shoulder. Each of the bearers carried a war spear of toa or *fehi* wood in his right hand, and brandished it. One man from Hamula lacked a spear but brandished his hand. In addition, the families, of the priests, both males and females, carried yams. All sang, "Nofu fei moeke nofo oua e ngaue." (We have come from work.)

As the yams were being carried past the Tui Tonga he arose to depart, the people doing the same immediately he had left. The yams were carried to the sanctuary of Fanakava and there cooked and eaten by the priests and people present. None were taken to the Tui Tonga, for it was forbidden to take anything from the premises of a god. (1984)

To-day when food is presented to the king, no club fight or other activities accompany the presentation as in the past. (198)

TOMBS OF THE TUI TONGA

The tombs of the Tui Tonga were spoken of as *langi* (sky). (See 25, 643 p. 125, for list of *langi*.) The Tui Tonga himself was also called *Langi* at times. The tombs are usually faced with dressed rectangular slabs of stone and consist of one or more terraces, so that they are often truncated

³ The priest of Hamula was named Kavakimotu. A man of the same title is chief now.

stepped pyramids. Their exact details are accurately described by McKern (42). I give here a list of rulers and their traditional burial places, so far as known. It is Tongan custom to designate dead rulers by their tombs; thus, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuofefafa is Tui Pulotu I, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuoteau is Tui Pulotu II.

13. Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou, Langi Tamatou, between Makaunga and Hoi, Tongatabu Island. 643
29. Uluakimata I (Telea), Paepae o Telea, at Lapaha, Tongatabu Island. 764
32. Uluakimata II, Langi Tui Tonga at Lapaha. 349
33. Tui Pulotu I, Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha. 103
35. Tui Pulotu II, Langi Tuoteau, at Lapaha.
36. Pau died in Vavau (50, p. 252).
39. Laufilitonga, Langi Foon, a concrete structure on top of the Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.

According to a published Tongan account (33, vol. 7, pp. 81-83, 1909) the earliest royal tombs are those in central and southeastern Tongatabu. In the reign of Momo, or of his son Tuitatui, the capital was shifted to Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu and there two royal tombs were erected. Tuitatui's sons moved the capital to Lapaha, where most of the subsequent tombs were erected.

Certain of the larger stones in some of the royal tombs bear special names. Two stones in the Langi Tui Tonga, Lapaha, Tongatabu, are named for chiefs: Tuituiohu (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu) and Vaea (the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua). These named stones further indicate that the Tui Tonga buried in this royal tomb was Uluakimata II. The significance of the stones was not ascertained.

The children of kings who themselves never became rulers were at times placed in tombs which bore distinctive names. Probably this practice of special burial for such individuals was far commoner than the present-day evidence indicates. Examples of such burial are:

1. The son of a Tui Tonga by an Uvean woman is said to be the individual for whom the Langi Maluatonga, at Lapaha, was built. On account of the Uvean blood of the king's son, his tomb is not tapu and is regarded with scant respect. This is why even a commoner will say, "When I am hungry, I eat on Langi Maluatonga."

2. A mound in Nomuka village, Nomuka Island, Haapai, is said to be the tomb of a Tui Tonga's daughter named Ate. (Ate is also the name of the present Tui Haa Ngana's daughter.) The Tui Tonga in question having no wife, sent word that he wanted a woman from Haafeva, named Halakiumata, the daughter of Fauolo of Haafeva. Fauolo sent his daughter and she was married to the Tui Tonga and bore him a daughter named Ate. Ate was sent to Nomuka to look after the Tui Tonga's graveyard. She died at Ahau in Nomuka and was buried in the mound in the present town. The royal tomb she cared for was situated in the district now called Pangai¹ on the far side of the lake (from the present town) and was called Langiatea. [581] [643]

3. Talahiva, the daughter of a Tui Tonga, is buried in the cemetery Tafengatoto, near Neiafutahi (part of the town of Neiafu), Vavau Island.

¹ See page 72 for a different version, in which Ate is the wife.

rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits the stone mason to the *niu* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception.

FISHING

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women, and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The *pulepola*, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes.

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia*

The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa⁷⁶⁷ were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui⁵⁶⁵ Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second⁶⁴⁴ Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions.

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngalu as his undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after him. There are many chiefs without undertakers. ^[622]

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative⁷⁶⁷ of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka⁵⁵¹ of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei.

Lamatau (full name Lamatuuaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and⁷⁶⁷ *tauaki*, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was⁶⁴³ to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafi* mat to spread⁷⁶³ over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person.^[551] After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off with it, retaining it as his property.

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal⁷⁶⁴ or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory) or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory).

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and⁷⁶⁴ moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was seen⁶⁴³ by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of concrete; formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's⁷⁶⁷ tomb, Langi Foa, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa.^[349] A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa.

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five,⁷⁶⁷ ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for⁷⁸⁴ that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period²⁶⁴ varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was^[565] said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga* might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on^[565] the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank is not certain.

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a⁷⁶⁴ commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was⁵⁶⁵
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sembled for the chief's use and comfort while he lived, were disposed of. 768
After the *fahu* took the pick of these, the *haatufunga* distributed the remainder among important chiefs and matapules, retainers, and relatives of the deceased, but kept a goodly share for himself, however.

The house built over a chief's grave was also called *faletolia*, according to my information, which is perhaps in error. Its practical purpose was to shelter the ornamental grave design (*fungaputu*) from wind and rain. The purpose avowedly ascribed to it, however, was that of protecting the dead chief from the sun and rain. There was no priest or caretaker in such a house, nor was food put there. Tapa and mats might be placed in it by way of remembrance. Such objects might be replaced with fresh ones from time to time. Sometimes a coconut leaf screen was put around the grave within the house. 765 349

The *falefeao* was an inferior dwelling house built near the *faletolia* of a dying chief, and used as a dwelling by his attendants. Some houses might already be located conveniently near the *faletolia*; others were especially constructed on the spot or moved from a former site. Baker's definition of *falefeao* as "the house built near the god's house for the reception of the sick" (no doubt when seeking divine intervention for a cure) would seem a more apt definition for *faletolia*, however. He says also that the *falefeao* may be any house built or used for those attending a superior's wants on some special occasion. 342 763

When one was about to die and the people were sent to fetch the sand for the grave, one person was sent to get a branch of the *aveave* and put it in the place in the cemetery where the sand from the beach was to be deposited. This was termed *ae aveave* (to plant the *aveave*). This branch was not removed but allowed to grow. 763

The digging of the grave is the last of the preparations and is never done while the sick person is still alive. Should the burial be postponed after the grave has been dug, the grave is filled up and the same site dug out afresh on the day of burial. 764

The funeral lights which are burned at night about a corpse are called *takipo*. A high chief has more lights than a commoner. There are three people to a torch, one to hold it, two to replenish it. The torch holders face the body, but are not near it. The earliest traditional mention of the *takipo* is afforded by the story of the death of the famous Tui Tonga Tuitatui who reigned about 1200 A. D. (26, p. 45). 764 416

Old, torn mats (*tawangaa*) are worn as a sign of mourning for a near relative. For a remote relative who is not a chief a good mat may be worn. The mourning mat worn by a chief over his tapa garment is called *fakangafingafi*. The generic term *taovala* applies to *tawangaa* and *fakangafingafi*. Neither tapa nor modern textile cloth may be so worn. 765 602 292

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Only

the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nana-sipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga Laufilitonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makau had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Mutoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776
Talehu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where
she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has
living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes
of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has
in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either
a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders
when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings
who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity
wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named
Malimeihavao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following
anecdote concerns him:

A god named Malimeihavao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the
island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and
visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the
mind (*loto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation
the victim was irrational. 776
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Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunt-
ing with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large
fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihavao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As
soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational.
Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with
him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards
the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed
of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly.
The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last de-
spaired of his becoming rational.

Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the
neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a
pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto
in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her
to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to
him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign
that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach
of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was
trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became
foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses.
Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become
rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.

As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puaka-776
mopele and Malimeihavao at their joint house in Holopeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa 773
and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess 793
did with the exception of Malimeihavao, who entered the owl (*lulu*).

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihavao in Uoleva, he 776
went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in 793
which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent (349)

origin, having been built a few generations ago, for pigeon catching, by 776 Matauvave, the matapule of Tui Tonga, who had charge of that sport in 349 Haapai. There was no house for the deities on this mound.

The informant translated Malimeihevao as "stealing your senses if you 776 are liked," but an analysis of the word yields: *mali*, to smile or to marry; 196 *meihe*, from the; *vao*, bush, which is quite in consonance with the attributes of the deity. Puakamopele was translated as "pig and stronger," but analyses as "pig and favorite, pet, or darling."

The sacred animal of Puakamopele was the gecko called *moko*, that of 776 Malimeihevao was the owl called *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*). As already stated, 825 Malimeihevao entered the owl, where he still dwells, through which medium he still meddles with the affairs of mortals. If a woman is pregnant but the fact is not public knowledge, the owl makes it known by calling near the 787 house in which the woman lives. Likewise, if the owl calls near a house and 843 then flies to the graveyard, it is a sign that death will soon visit that house. 763

TUI HAA FAKAFANUA

The deity Tui Haa Fakafanua is by Collocott and Tongan informants 776 identified with Tutumatua of Fiji and with Moso of Samoa. One Tongan informant also identified this god with Seketoo of Niuatoputapu. It seems likely that these identifications, particularly the last, are in the nature of rationalizations.

Collocott (9, p. 156) describes the entry of this god into his priest. He 787 manifested himself in the gecko, or to use the Tongan metaphor, the gecko 825 was the "boat of the god."

Maufanga in Tongatabu and Faleloa in the island of Foa, Haapai, seem 776 to have been principal seats of this god, although a third sanctuary was 778 located in Lifuka, Haapai, on the site called Hahaia, now occupied by the Catholic church. Collocott's account (op. cit. p. 227) of the god refers especially to his manifestations in Tongatabu and to his connection with the chief Fakafanua. The ancestor of Fakafanua, the present noble of Mau-fanga, was Kinikinilau who probably lived in the early part of the seventeenth century (26, p. 69) so that the Fakafanua title does not appear to be very old. The exact site of the sanctuary in Tongatabu was called Vakataumai. The priest seems to have borne the name of Makau. If tradition is to be 793 relied upon, there was already a Makau officiating in the time of Kinikinilau. It would be interesting to know whether the god of that time bore the name Tui Haa Fakafanua. Today the god is rudely referred to as Fakafanua's devil as well as by his true name. Collocott refers to the famous sanctuary of the god at Mau-fanga, which afforded protection to fugitives from vengeance. It was this sanctuary that was shelled by the French warship *Astrolabe* in 1827 (20, p. 268 footnote):

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669 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava
634 was brought to them as a present, by the chief
431 of the consecrated place, on which they re-
276 galed.

716 During this time, the greater part of the
forces in the canoes employed themselves in
669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies
726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The
[714] enemy on shore were also in a state of prepara-
tion: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up
and down the beach with furious gestures;
splashing up the water with their clubs, brandish-
ing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and
bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

712 Finow and his attendants having returned on
board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neigh-
[669] bouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest,
[726] though not the largest, in the whole island.
As it will be proper to understand the usual
form and construction of these Tonga fortresses,
we shall give a general description of them,
taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the
rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the
western coast of the island, about one hundred
yards distant from the water's edge, occupying
712 about four or five acres of ground. It con-
sists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing
349 of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

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on the inside by upright posts, from six to nine inches in diameter, and situated a foot and a half distant from each other; to which the reed-work is firmly lashed by tough sinnet, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut. This fencing is about nine feet in height, the post rising about a foot higher: it has four large entrances, as well as several small ones, secured on the inside by horizontal sliding pieces, made of the wood of the cocoa-nut tree. Over each door, as well as at other places, are erected platforms even with the top of the fencing, supported chiefly on the inside, but projecting forward to the extent of two or three feet: these platforms are about nine feet square, and situated fifteen yards distant from each other; and as they are intended for the men to stand on, to shoot arrows, or throw down large stones, they are also defended in front, and half way on each side, by a reed-work six feet high, with an opening in front, and others on either hand, for the greater convenience of throwing spears, &c. The lower fencing has also openings for a similar purpose. On the outside is a ditch of nearly twelve feet deep, and as much broad; which, at a little distance, is encompassed by another fencing similar to the first, with platforms, &c. on the outside of which there is a second ditch. The earth dug out of these ditches forms a bank on

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818

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TRANSACTIONS AT

712 each side, serving to deepen them. Opposite

340 each large doorway, there is no ditch dug.

[531] The inner and outer fencings are ornamented
profusely with white shells. Some of these for-

tifications are square, others round. That of

Nioocalofa was round.

634 The king, having finished this affair, began to
 669 think of returning to Pangaimotoo: Mr. Ma-
 727 riner, indeed, endeavoured to persuade him
 to follow up the advantages of his victory by
 immediately laying siege to another fortress,
 which, no doubt, would soon have fallen into
 their hands; and the whole island, being struck
 with dismay, would readily have submitted to
 his government. But, it seems, Finow was not
 yet the complete warrior; or he thought, per-
 haps, that, having such powerful weapons in his
 possession, he could reduce the island at any
 future time.

727 Pangaimotoo is not more than three quarters
 [131] of a mile distant from the island of Tonga, se-
 [131] parated from it only by a long narrow reef.

[484] To this place Finow returned with all his men,
 intending to go back to Tonga another day.

[262] As soon as they landed, they sat down to eat,
 not having taken any refreshment since morn-
 ing, with the exception of some of the men,
 whose stomachs not being the most delicate,
 had partaken of some yams and plantains that
 they found roasting along with the bodies of
 the dead in the general conflagration at Niooca-
 lofa.

727 They remained several days at this island,
 349 during which time several canoes were sent
 712 to an uninhabited part of Tonga for the

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purpose of procuring reeds to rebuild the
 fortress of Nioocalofa. This step was taken
 by the admonition of the gods, who were
 consulted on the occasion through the medium
 of the priests.

As the invocation of the gods, and inspiration
 of the priests, are circumstances that will often
 occur in the course of this work, it will be well
 to take the present opportunity of describing
 them.

The night previous to the consultation of the
 oracle, the chief orders his cooks to kill and pre-
 pare a hog, and to procure a basket of yams,
 and two bunches of ripe plantains. These
 things being got ready, the next morning they
 are carried to the place where the priest resides,
 or wherever he may be at that time: the priest
 is sometimes previously apprised of the circum-
 stance, at other times not. The chiefs and ma-
 tabooles clothe themselves in mats, and repair
 to the place where the priest is to be found: if
 it be at a house, the priest seats himself just
 within the eaves*; if at a distance, he seats him-
 self on any convenient spot of ground, and the
 matabooles seat themselves on either hand, so
 as would form a circle, or rather an ellipsis, if

* Their houses are built somewhat in form of a shed,
 open all round, and the eaves coming within about four feet
 of the ground.

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Toogoo Ahoo, the late king of Tonga, who it may be recollected was assassinated by Finow and Toobó Nuha. When this young chief returned to Hapai, Mr. Mariner, who was upon a footing of great friendship with him, one day asked him how he felt himself, when the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo visited him; he replied that he could not well describe his feelings, but the best he could say of it was, that he felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind, his thoughts wandering upon strange and unusual subjects, although perfectly sensible of surrounding objects. He next asked him how he knew it was the spirit of Toogoo Ahoo? his answer was, "there's a fool! how can I tell you *how* I knew it; I felt and knew it was so by a kind of consciousness; my *mind* told me that it was Toogoo Ahoo." Finow used occasionally to be inspired by the ghost of Moomooi, a former king of Tonga. 787
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We must now return to Finow and his army at the island of Pangaimotoo.

A sufficient quantity of reeds and stakes having been procured, Finow and his army left Pangaimotoo and landed at Niocalofa, for the purpose of rebuilding the colo (or fortress.) The 349
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349 plan was marked out somewhat different from
 712 the former, and larger, as being judged more
 727 suitable to their views; a vast number of hands
 were employed, and in two days the building
 was finished: a few alterations and additions
 were afterwards made as occasion and conveni-
 [164] ence required. During the time this was about,
 several of the men got dangerously wounded
 by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which
 there were several on the land side of the *colo*.
 [766] They were also much annoyed by the smell of
 the dead bodies that lay every where about, but
 which they did not take the trouble to bury, as
 they were enemies, and none of them their rela-
 tions†. The canoes were now hauled up on
 the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven
 round them. The four guns were drawn into
 the fortress, and one placed at each door.

669 A few days afterwards a small party who
 726 went up into the country according to their
 daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

* *Lovosás* are pit-falls, dug five feet deep and four broad;
 several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and
 sharpened. *Sokies* are smaller holes, with one stake in, and
 large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosás* and *sokies*
 are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight
 by plantain leaves and earth.

† The bodies that were found within the confines of the
 fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these
 were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned
 a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

727 could know nothing of the contents; and that
 634 the histories of whole nations were thus handed
 177 down to posterity, without spoiling by being
 kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow
 acknowledged this to be a most noble invention,
 but added, that it would not at all do for the
 Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but
 disturbances and conspiracies, and he should
 not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month.
 He said, however, jocosely, that he should like
 to know it himself, and for all the women to
 know it, that he might make love with less risk
 of discovery, and not so much chance of incur-
 ring the vengeance of their husbands.

[522] This circumstance served greatly to amuse
 and interest Finow and all his chiefs during
 484 their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The follow-
 ing morning they again embarked, and sailing
 with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands,
 they arrived at Namoooca, and ultimately at Le-
 fooga.

262 Orders were now issued, and preparations were
 796 speedily made for the ceremony of annulling
 766 the eight months *taboo*. The places appro-
 784 priated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the
 765 grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we
 shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the
 [349] second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his
 own residence, and on this were erected four

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columns of yams in the following manner: four
poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed up-
right in the ground, to the depth of a few feet,
at about four feet distance from each other in a
quadrangular form; the spaces between them,
all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller
poles about six inches distant from each other,
and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species
of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection
being filled up as they proceeded with yams;
and afterwards other upright poles were lashed
on to the top with cross pieces in like manner,
still piling up the yams; then a third set of
poles, &c., till the column of yams was about
fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all
was placed a cold baked pig. Four such co-
lumn were erected, one at each corner of the
malái, the day before the ceremony, and three
or four hundred hogs were killed, and about
half baked. The following day the hogs were
carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a
mile off, and placed upon the ground before the
house, as well as four or five wooden cars or
sledges full of yams, each holding about five
hundred. While this was doing, and the peo-
ple assembling from all quarters, those who were
already arrived sat themselves down round the
king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got
up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com-

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634 guns were drawn up, Mr. Mariner fired two
 764 more rounds, then loaded them with canister
 411 shot, lighted a match, to be in readiness in
 727 case of need, and ordered the guns to follow
 the procession, whilst he went last to see that
 634 they were properly drawn. It was not the
 764 prince's intention to order another salute, but
 411 he had previously told Mr. Mariner to load
 661 them again, not with 'blank cartridge' but with
 shot, and to carry a lighted match in his hand,
 for, "perhaps," said he, "we may have need
 of it." This, it may be easily seen, was a
 measure of policy; he ordered them to be fired
 that he might have a plea for carrying them in
 the procession along with him, and he ordered
 them to be loaded a third time, as if they were
 to be in readiness for another salute at the
 grave, but in fact for his own safeguard, lest
 certain chiefs should take the opportunity to
 revolt.

634 In the course of two hours they arrived at
 764 Felletoa, where the body was laid in a house
 349 on the *malái* at some distance from the grave,
 till another and smaller house could be brought
 close to it*; and this was done in the course

* The body is always placed in a house in front of the
fytoea during the time the grave is digging: if there be no
 house near, a small one is immediately brought for the pur-
 pose, which, from the construction of their houses, is readily
 done by the aid of 50 or 60 men.

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of an hour, the corner posts being taken up, ⁶³⁴
 the four pieces which compose the building (a ⁷⁶⁴
 kind of shed in a pyramidal form, the eaves ³⁴⁹
 reaching within four feet of the ground) were
 brought by a sufficient number of men, and put
 together at the place where it was wanted.
 This being done, the body was brought on the ⁴⁹³
 same hurdle or hand-barrow to the newly
 erected building, (if it may be so termed) and
 then being taken off the hurdle it was laid
 within, on the bale of *gnatoo*, and the house was
 hung round with black *gnatoo*, reaching from
 the eaves to the ground *. The women, who ⁷⁶⁷
 were now all assembled and seated round the
 body, began a most dismal lamentation, similar
 to that at Neáfoo; in the mean time a number
 of people, whose business it was to prepare
 graves, were digging the place of interment
 within the *fytoea*, under the direction of *Lanagi*,
 a mataboole whose office was to superintend
 such affairs. Having dug about ten feet, they
 came to the large stone vault, such as was de-
 scribed in the note p. 144; a rope being then

* This black *gnatoo*, or rather *gnatoo* of a dark colour, ²⁸⁷
 having a deep brown ground with black stripes, is not
 chosen on account of its colour, but because it is coarse and
 common (emblematical of poverty and sadness). They have
 a kind of *gnatoo* of very superior quality, but of the same
 colour and pattern, and this is used on occasions of re-
 joicing.

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- Fakaamu.** A wish, longing desire; to wish, to desire. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. 103
- Fakaamumel.** To desire breadfruit [fakaamu, to desire; mel, breadfruit]. Anchorage at northern end of Lifuka island (H). At the anchorage Fakaamumel, mythology says the goddess Fehuluni, travelling from Samoa to Tonga, desired breadfruit; hence the name. Also tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). [773]
[776]
- Fakaamunoa.** Trivial desire [fakaamu, desire; noa, trivial]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fakaamuvaka.** To wish for a boat [fakaamu, to wish; vaka, boat]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanna, landlord.
- Fakaanu.** To be in the water. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fakaangatonu.** To criticize correctly [fakaanga, to criticize; tonu, correct]. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Fakaangiangi.** To hang or place anything in the wind to dry. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fakaata.** To take aim. Tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord.
- Fakaatumahina.** The disappearance of the moon [fakaatu, to cease for a time; mahina, moon]. Tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Fakaauungalahi.** To arrange a large gathering of people at a specified time and place [faka, to cause; aunga, to agree to meet at a specified time and place; lahi, large]. Place on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T), where there is surf.
- Fakaeteete.** To walk softly, without noise. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Fakafafa.** To sling on a stick and carry over the shoulder. One of two huge upright monoliths on Tafahi island (NT). These two monoliths are compared by native informants to the two uprights of the trilithon on Tongatabu island. Like that trilithon the Tafahi monoliths are said to have been the burden of Maui; hence the name Fakafafa. 103
349
- Fakafai.** To cause to do. District near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). 103
- Fakafaifekau.** Like one who executes commands [faka, like; faifekau, one who executes commands]. District on Lofanga island (H).
- Fakafanua.** Like the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea [faka, like; fanua, the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Fakafanuaamanu.** Flock of birds so large as to resemble the sea coast [faka, like; fanua, the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea; a, of; manu, birds]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also hillside near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fakafesaahi.** Two parties, one opposing the other in play, work, or war. Two Tongan informants vouch for this meaning, which cannot be verified by the dictionaries. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Fakafihl.** To confuse, to entangle. Tract near Taou, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fakafiu.** Tiresome, wearisome. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Fakafua.** To fructify. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fakafuenga.** To deal out in proportion. This meaning, from a single Tongan informant, remains unverified. Tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu island (T)

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Manukatele. To murder a chief with a razor [manuka, to murder (applied to chiefs); tele, a razor]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Aitu, landlord.

Manuklokioliku. Weather shore where the birds call [manu, bird; kiekio, the chirping of a chicken; liku, weather shore]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

Manumanua. To be full of worms. Tract near Mutoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Manutunu. Broiled animal [manu, animal; tunu, to broil]. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Manutuufanga. The beach where the birds stand [manu, bird; tuu, to stand; fanga, beach]. Beach on Vavau island (V). Near Mt. Kafoa.

Manuvae. An animal divided longways [manu, animal; vae, to divide longways]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract on Tafahi island (NT).

Manuvainga. Playful animal [manu, animal; vainga, playful]. Tract near Mau-fanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.

Mangafakinanga. Branch of the tree that was leaned against [manga, branch of tree; faki, to lean against]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). A rest mound (esi) reputed to have been built here by Tuitatui, the eleventh Tui Tonga. It is located 100-150 yards northwest of the great trilithon.

Mangahalafo. A road branching off in four directions [manga, branch; hala, road; fa, four]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.

Mangahalatolu. A road branching off in three directions [manga, branch; hala, road; tolu, three]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Mangaia. The branch. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T), now occupied by Seventh Day Adventist church. Some years ago it was occupied by people from Mangaia, Cook Islands; hence the name.

Mangele. Name of a tree, mangalele. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Nukunuku—Tui Vakano, landlord, Fatai, Houma—Vaea, landlord, Vaini—Masu, landlord, and Kolonga—Nuku, landlord. Also tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H). Also tract on Ovaka island (V).

Mangia. To scorch. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haatelho, landlord. Also village and streamlet on Vavau island (V). Also tracts near Mangia and Haakio, villages on Vavau island (V).

Mangiauta. Inland Mangia [uta, inland]. Tract near Mangia, village on Vavau island (V).

Mangiaval. Mangia by the water [val, water]. Tract near Mangia, village on Vavau island (V).

Mangiaf. Food prepared for strangers or persons just arrived. Tract near Uiba, village on Uiba island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Mango. Island (H).

Mangoliki. Little Mango [iki, little]. Island (H).

Maofanga. One spelling of Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Maolunga. High, elevated. Tracts in and near villages on Tongatabu island (T): Haatafu, Kanokupolu, Foui—Vahai, landlord, Fahefa, Matahau, Houma—Vaea, landlord, Hofoa, and Nukuleka.

[349]

Gifford—Tongan Myths and Tales

have charge of all funerary arrangements, just as though it were the funeral of the Tui Langi (King of the Sky), Eitumatupua.

It is the descendants of Ahoeitu, he who was murdered in the sky, who have successively been Tui Tonga. The descendants of Talafale are the Tui Pelehake. The descendants of Matakehe²⁹ are not known, having become extinct. The descendants of Maliepo are called Lauaki. The descendants of Tui Loloko are still called Tui Loloko.³⁰

The Tui Tonga and their families are of the highest rank, because Ahoeitu came originally from the sky. He was the first chief appointed from the sky, the Tui Tonga of all the world of brown people as far as Uea (Wallis island), the ruler of the world. His divine origin makes his descendants real chiefs. In fact, it became customary to ask of one who is proud or thinks himself a chief: "Is he a chief? Did he descend from the sky?"

The son of Ahoeitu was Lolofakangalo, and he became Tui Tonga when Ahoeitu died; and the son of Lolofakangalo was Fangaoneone and he became the third Tui Tonga. The son of Fangaoneone was Lihau, and he was the fourth Tui Tonga. The son of Lihau was Kofutu; he was the fifth Tui Tonga. Kaloa, the son of Kofutu, was the sixth Tui Tonga. His son Mauhau was the seventh Tui Tonga. Then followed Apuanea, Afulunga, Momo, and Tuitatui. It was Tuitatui who erected the Haamonga-a-Maui, or Burden-of-Maui (the well-known trilithon of Tongatabu).

The following account concerns the Tui Tonga Tuitatui and what he did on the raised platform house (*fale fatatiki*). His sister went to him. Her name was Latutama and she was female Tui Tonga. Her attendant followed her to Tuitatui's house. After his sister arrived Tuitatui ascended to his platform and then he began his lies, for, behold, he had desire for his sister to go up to the platform, so that they might have sexual intercourse. From above he said to his sister below: "Here is a vessel coming, a vessel from Haapai very likely; a very large vessel."

And Latutama answered: "Oh, it is your lies." "It is not my lies," retorted Tuitatui. "Come up and see the vessel yourself." Then his sister climbed up and sat with him on the platform, while her attendant remained below, and Tuitatui and his sister had sexual intercourse. That was the way of that Tui Tonga, and it was known to the attendant.

They dwelt together at their place of abode in Hahake (eastern Tonga), the name of which was Heketa (near the modern village of Niutoua). The trilithon called the Burden-of-Maui and Tuitatui's terraced stone tomb are situated there. There was also there the Ololele³¹ (or dwelling-place

²⁹ Matakehe is mentioned in some texts as "a band of Tui Tonga's warriors."

³⁰ For a brief account of the kings of various countries being sent down from the sky by Sinilau, see page 194.

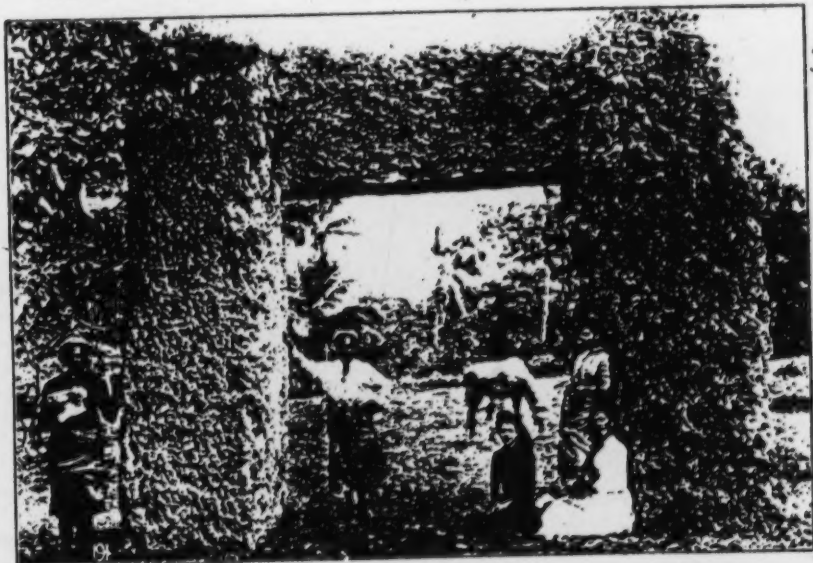
³¹ Cf. Ololele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaiian Islands.

POEMS RELATING TO DEATH

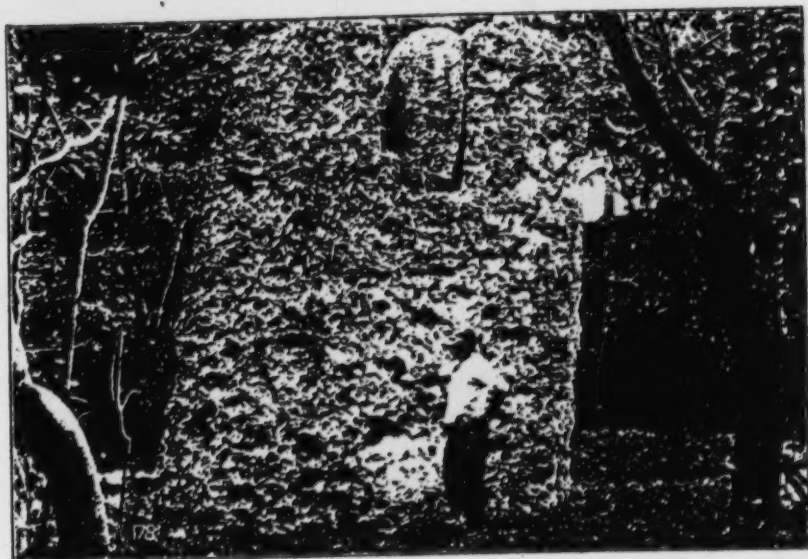
764 Fortunately, accounts of the burial ceremonies of great chiefs before
 114 ancient practice had been modified by Christianity have been preserved.
 Those of the London Missionary Society's missionaries (40), who landed
 in Tonga in 1797, arrived shortly before the death of the Tui Kanokupolu
 Mumui (Apr. 29, 1797). Mariner has described the burial of his friend
 and protector, Finau. Finau's daughter died shortly before her father, and
 the rites in connection with her burial are also described (28, vol. 1, pp.
 296-299, 310-329). Good examples of the wailing (*tangi*) raised im-
 mediately after a death is also given by Mariner (28, vol 1, p. 134; vol. 2,
 chapters I, V).

764 Burial usually follows soon after death; but special affection or honor
 was sometimes shown to the dead by keeping the body unburied for a
 long time. Sometimes, it would seem, the body thus kept was put into a
 sort of coffin. I have heard such a funerary casket described as *vaka* (boat
 or canoe), a striking term. In all probability the coffin was actually a boat.
 Embalming was seldom, if ever, resorted to; and when the putrefying body
 became offensive it was referred to as *namu kakala* (fragrant smelling).

349 The most remarkable monuments in Tonga are the Trilithon, Haamonga-
 764 a-Maui, in Heketa, eastern Tongatabu, and the stone-faced burial vaults
 of great chiefs, especially of the Tui Tonga, most of which are also in
 eastern Tongatabu. These are terraced, rectangular mounds, of one to five
 tiers. On the island of Niuafoou is a burial mound of rather different
 shape, being roughly oval, though it is so overgrown with scrub that it is
 difficult to get a precise idea of its shape. It is about 40 yards long, and
 3 or 4 feet high, faced with rough blocks of stone. Its shape would be
 more perfectly oval were it not that the roughness of the masonry makes
 769 angles. This is the burial ground of high chieftains, but is not treated with
 the respect that would be anticipated. People sometimes cut firewood from
 it today. They say that the chiefs buried there are not *pauu*, mischievous,
 to them. This modern rationalism, however, is not approved by all the
 elders. More strictness is observed in cleaning this cemetery, the work be-
 ing never undertaken except at the bidding of one of two chiefs, neither of
 whom lives in the island. Doubtless they are both *fahu* to the chiefs
 602 buried there. (Relatives of superior social rank are *fahu*, especially one's
 599 sister and father's sister, and their children.) The following poems contain
 604 references to the ghost ship from Pulotu, and to other ways of reaching
 605 Pulotu. Pulotu as the far-off island, however, seems to have been most
 775 prominently in the people's belief, as there is a very substantial agreement
 among observers who had the opportunity of learning the conceptions of the
 538 Tongans before they were influenced by Christianity. Vason (37, p. 150)
 relates that Tongans, conversing about one who had lately died, said "he



A



B

HAAMONGA MAUI: A, GENERAL VIEW LOOKING NORTH; B, END VIEW SHOWING PORTION OF LINTEL. (FROM AN OLD PRINT IN BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM.)

[End Plate 5]

length of the roadway being determined by the height of the structure. Most of these approaches were supported on either side by retaining walls, similar to the walls of the main structure. A few were paved with stone slabs or rough fragments of stone, or surfaced with gravel. Access to certain platforms was by means of low stone steps placed at certain points against the retaining walls. Where the low steps adjoin relatively high walls, they seem merely to have marked the proper place for mounting rather than to have afforded help in ascending the structure.

STONE HOUSE PARTS

Many ancient houses of the better class were supplied with a stone door sill, made of a single oblong, roughly blocked out hexahedron about a foot in width, which filled the base of the doorway to a height of somewhat less than a foot. Such stone sills appear in a few modern houses but it is probable that a wooden sill was always more common.

Stone house posts and rafters were seen in only one structure—a burial house situated on the top of a stone walled tomb on the island of Tongatabu. The fragments now remaining of these stone house parts are smoothly dressed and show rather elaborate end mortising (p. 38).

STONE WALLS AND MONUMENTS

Independent walls of stone are by no means common in Tonga, but are represented by several examples in fairly good condition. All these walls are built of undressed and irregularly shaped pieces of both reef limestone and "sandstone," of a size easily carried and handled.

Monumental stones form part of the retaining walls of many mounds and platforms. These are placed regularly to constitute a part of the wall and differ from the other wall elements only in their larger size. Usually they stand up abruptly, at or near a platform corner, to a height considerably greater than the average height of the wall.

Stelae of undressed basalt occur independent of other structures at certain places. The only one seen is in the town of Mua (p. 93), but two others are reported from the distant volcanic island of Niutoputapu. The great trilithon, Haamongaamaui (p. 63), situated in the eastern part of Tongatabu, stands out with paradoxical distinctness from all other Tongan structures, as well as from those of other Pacific islands. Not only is its shape unique, but the great size of the three dressed stones employed in the structure, and the deep mortising of the lintel piece into the uprights, render the work a surprising oddity as well as a worthy monument to Tongan ability and ingenuity in stone construction.

MONUMENTS

THE HAAMONGAAMAUI

Perhaps the most imposing of Tonga's ancient monuments is the great trilithon near Kolonga, Tongatabu, commonly called the Haamonga, or more fully, Haamongaamaui (Pl. V).

The trilithon consists of two large upright stones with a connecting stone laid horizontally across and mortised into the tops of the upright pieces. All three stones are carefully squared and smoothly surfaced pieces of non-stratified coral limestone. The porosity of this material prevents any fine smoothing, but all surfaces are decidedly flat and all interfacial angles acutely sharp (fig. 40).

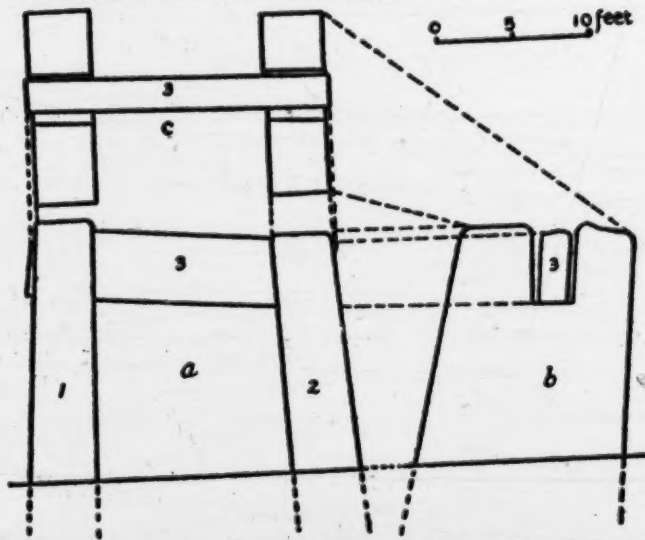


FIGURE 40.—Plan of the trilithon, Haamongaamaui: a, side view; b, end view; c, top view—1, western upright 17 feet high, 14 feet at base, 12 feet wide at top, 4.5 feet in average thickness; 2, eastern upright 15.5 feet high, 13.5 feet wide at base, 11.3 feet wide at top, 4.5 feet in average thickness; 3, lintel, 19 feet long, 4.5 feet wide, 2 feet thick.

The archway faces north and south, the lintel-piece extending almost due east-west. The larger western upright piece is almost vertical on its northern, eastern and western faces but its southern face has a decided inward slant from the bottom toward the top. Of the smaller eastern upright the eastern and western faces are nearly vertical; the southern face has a decided inward slant from bottom to top; the northern face, a slight outward slant. The whole structure has a marked list toward the north. An interval of 12.5 feet separates the upright pieces.

172 A cross section of each of the two shafts and of the lintel approaches a rectangular
349 parallelogram. The upright pieces are placed with their long lateral faces roughly parallel to each other and approximately extending north-south. They rise from their foundations gradually tapering inward toward the top, a feature more accentuated in the western column.

At the approximate center of each upright piece is a vertical square-cut mortise of sufficient width to allow the lintel to slip into it edgewise with several inches of play on either side, and of sufficient depth to bring the top edge of the lintel to a common plane with the tops of the columns. This common plane is not level, as the western column is 1.5 feet higher than the eastern. The ends of the lintel are practically even with the outer sides of the uprights.

The central upper surface of the lintel is marked by a shallow circular depression of small diameter, smoothly regular in outline and obviously artificial.

It was determined by excavations at selected places that the bases of the upright pieces extend at least two feet into the ground. Fear that the structure would fall prevented further exposure of the foundations.

[127] There is an unpublished account of excavations made by Mr. Ames, the first Wesleyan teacher in this district, to determine the depth of the foundations. According to his testimony, as supported by eye witnesses, the base of each upright is mortised into limestone bedrock and the space left between mortise and tenon packed with small limestone chips. A fear that the removal of these chips would weaken the stability of the structure prevented his determining the true depth to which the great shafts of stone penetrate.

That the uprights are well anchored is shown by the fact that the massive roots of a large *ovava* tree shaped themselves about the base of the western stone shaft, without budging its position. King George I Tupou had the tree removed in order to preserve the monument. It has been estimated that the visible portions of the two uprights weigh each between 30 and 40 tons.

172 The following account of the origin and construction of the Haamonga
349 was obtained from an old chieftain, Tamale of Haamieniuli, Tongatabu, who is the direct descendant in a long line of chieftains closely associated with the
173 Tui Tonga and is fulfilling the duty of keeping in memory the great deeds
644 of the kings. The peculiar official duties of this family are said to have been
[115] inaugurated at a time preceding the reign of Tuitatui.

172 Tuitatui was the Tui Tonga who built the trilithon. That was at a time preceding
349 the removal of the king's house to Lapaha (now Mua). Tuitatui had established himself at Heketa near the site of the Haamonga. The trilithon was erected as a monument to his two sons; Lafa was the elder and Talaihaapepe the younger. The structure had
173 the symbolical significance of representing the two sons in the upright shafts, the eastern
643 and western columns respectively symbolizing the elder and younger son. The lintel uniting the columns represented the inseparable bond of brotherhood uniting these two great men. It seems that the Tui Tonga was afraid that there would be a rupture between his sons after he was gone and erected the monument as a lasting protest against such a possibility.

In this manner was the Haamonga built. All the common men of Heketa and many men from the outlying districts of Tongatabu were assembled. The stones, of a variety called *oksha* (coral limestone), were cut out from the cliff face on the shoreline just north of the site selected for the structure. This is the kind of stone that forms the bedrock for all this part of the island. When the three great stones had been shaped, they were dragged over wooden skids, by means of heavy ropes and the combined muscular power of many men, to the construction site. The two pits where the columns were to stand were then dug. There followed the erecting of a perpendicular retaining wall of trees and brush, situated closely parallel to the line of the two excavations. This wall constituted the vertical front of an earthen mound or inclined plane of a height sufficient to serve in the following manner. The two uprights were dragged over skids, endwise and prone on edge, up the slope of the artificial incline. Besides the wooden skids and ropes, the implements employed included blocking wedges and levers, to be used in emergencies. At the top of the incline the stones were projected over the edge of the vertical retaining wall until nicely balanced, and then carefully directed to fall endwise, while guided by ropes, into the pits prepared for them. This done, the lintel was transported up the incline in the same manner, but with the lateral edge foremost, and directed to drop into the mortises in the tops of the upright pieces. Then the earthen incline was removed, leaving the trilithon in position. A large irregular pile of earth in the near neighborhood of the monument is said to be the material removed in leveling the construction mound.

Tamale's account of origin and construction is so detailed and logical, coming as it does from a very old man who neither speaks nor reads any language other than his own and who is highly respected by natives and Europeans alike as an authority on the traditional history of his district, that it must be accepted as a weighty part of the available evidence.

The name Haamongaamaui (*haamonga*, the burden carried on a carrying-stick called *haamo*; *a*, of; Maui, a god and culture hero) is probably derived from the myth according to which Maui Kisikisi brought the trilithon from Uvea to Tonga, carrying it on his shoulders. It has been argued that this myth indicates that the stones constituting the structure were brought from Uvea. While such a feat may have been possible, a preponderance of the available evidence stands against it. It is a common thing in Tonga to find mythological origins ascribed to things of known historical origin. Furthermore, limestone employed in the structure is identical with the country rock immediately surrounding the monument, while Uvea is basically volcanic in formation.

It is hard to see just how the trilithon would tend to decrease the possibility of dissension between the two sons of Tuitatui without including a belief in sympathetic magic. The two columns were named after the two sons and it is possible that the belief existed that as long as the two representations of the brothers were united by the lintel-piece, there could be no breaking of brotherly relations. According to Gifford (11) Tuitatui reigned in the early part of the eleventh century.

Prince Tungi believes that the Haamonga was erected for playing a game called *kopai kolo*. The existing structure may have been used in playing

172 this game, but it is unlikely that it was built for such a purpose. The game
349 was played by children and it is hard to conceive of the laborious construction
173 of such an imposing piece of work to accommodate the playtime fancy of
[349] children.

The small basin cut into the top of the lintel is not explained. Tamale was positive that it was cut out long after the building of the monument, but he could not suggest its intended purpose.

OTHER MONUMENTS

172 There are said to be two stone monoliths on the island of Niuatoputapu
349 which, according to tradition, were erected by the culture hero Maui. They
are named Fakafafa and Tauloto. Nothing of their origin or purpose could
be ascertained.

Monumental stones in the retaining walls of many langis are described on pp. 36-62.

MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURAL WORKS

THE MAKAVE FILL

173 The use in construction work of rough or dressed stones did not exhaust the native capacity for large undertakings. There are many traditions of large projects, some of them patently impossible, some improbable, others with supporting evidence which cannot be gainsaid.

133 The land just south of Makave, about 3 miles southwest of Neiafu, Vavau, is a long narrow peninsula extending south from the main body of the island. The landward end of the neck of this peninsula is about 100 yards in width. To the seaward side this width increases but is decidedly lower in elevation.

173 Tradition says that this low portion of the isthmus was at one time missing; what is now a peninsula, then existing as an island, called Utuatea, a name now applied to the peninsula. Whenever the district chieftain, Tuihafitu, held a big celebration of any kind, both Makave and Utuatea were constrained to supply large quantities of food. The inhabitants thought this to be too great a drain upon their resources. Accordingly they decided to make one place of Makave and Utuatea in order that but a single quota might be levied against them. This they are said to have accomplished by filling in the channel between the smaller and larger islands. They finished this task in a single night and planted trees over the filled-in area on the following morning.

Kalaota gives a quite different version of this story. According to his account, the island of Utuatea was owned by a man of common birth who held the title of Toutai, a commander of a sailing vessel for the king. The land had been given to him as a reward for services. This man's name was Fea. Tuihafitu, chieftain of Makave, wished to possess this island. Accordingly he assembled his people and set them the task of filling in the separating channel. They completed the task in a single night and planted trees over the new land on the following morning. Fea, since he was only a commoner, was afraid to complain of this treatment; so he left the one-time island in the hands of Tuihafitu and returned to Tongatabu.

173 The area said to be artificially made is nearly 200 yards in width and 6 feet in average height above the shoreline. It was impossible to determine whether it was natural or filled-in land.

KILIKILITEFUA WALL

349 Just south of Makave, at the narrowest part of the isthmus, is a large remnant of what seems to have been a straight stone wall crossing the isthmus from east to west and cutting off the peninsula from the mainland at a point where it is necessary in approaching from the mainland to ascend a marked

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grade. The wall is 250 feet long, the existing base about 6 feet wide, and the maximum height 5 feet. It extends only across the flat top land, stopping at the top of the two steep banks that descend at either end to the sea. It is composed of rough, undressed pieces of coral stone piled together rather carefully and varying in size from small pieces weighing 4 or 5 pounds to pieces weighing several hundred pounds.

All informants agree that only a few years have elapsed since the wall was nearly complete. It was partly destroyed, beginning in 1910, by the present government to furnish stones for the concrete water reservoirs that were being so extensively installed in Tonga at that time. The original height of the wall is said to have been "1 fathom," which was defined as a sufficient height to prevent a tall man from seeing over. The highest portion of the wall remaining has one vertical surface which does not appear to have been disturbed. It stands at an angle of about 10° from the perpendicular. The stonework is neatly and compactly finished.

The origin of this wall is generally ascribed to a custom whereby the parents of every first-born son in the Makave district carried one stone and added it to the existing pile. No clear purpose for such a practice could be found. It was simply in accordance with an order issued by one of the Tui-hafitu chieftains of Makave. One old man discredited this explanation and said that the wall was built by a chieftain named Lolomanaia. He could supply no purpose for such a structure.

FELETOA DEPRESSION

At Feletoa, Vavau, there is a peculiar symmetrical depression in the earth's surface more than 200 feet in diameter and from 6 to 7 feet in depth at center. Although circular and bowl-like in shape, this depression has the appearance of a natural surface feature, although any natural cause for its existence remains obscure. It is said to have resulted from the following practice. The father of every first-born son in Feletoa went to this spot and struck the earth once with the butt of a large stick of toa (*Casuarina*). The depression and the stick used in producing it shared the name *tukitonu*. The accumulative result of these earth poundings is said to be the large depression.

The stories, regarding the Makave fill, the wall Kilikilitefua, and the Feletoa depression, share a decidedly impossible flavor. The absence of any haphazard element in the stone wall seems to contradict the possibility of so casual and gradual a method of construction as that set forth in the narrative. The accurate lines and careful piling of stones suggests not only skilled workmen but a more definite purpose than the story allows. The excellent barrier that the wall afforded between Utuatea and Makave, augmented by its slightly elevated position above any approach from the mainland, suggests

172 something closely resembling a defence, or at least a boundary to a restricted
 173 area. No known defenses of this type occur in Tonga, however. The Fele-
 [349] toa depression is by far too large to have its origin as traditionally related.
 These stories seem to illustrate rationalized explanations of peculiarities of
 unknown origin. The story of the Makave fill, allowing for exaggeration,
 seems the most possible of the lot. There are other Tongan stories of the
 reclaiming of land from the sea (p. 100).

PETROGLYPHS

172 Some petroglyphs on the island of Telekivavau, Haapai, first came to the
 531 attention of students through the efforts of Mr. Clement L. Wragge and
 Mr. Arthur Rounds. The group includes seven ellipses, more or less circular,
 three of them with from one to two outer appendages and one of them with
 a series of more or less equidistant lines radiating outward from the rim.
 The remaining figures consist of an anthropomorphic representation with
 triangular body, closely associated with a small cross, and a line complex
 including as an important element a cross with arms each terminating in three
 prongs. The figures appear to be carelessly associated without suggestive
 organization.

Mr. Rounds reports the occurrence of a larger group of even simpler
 figures on the southwest end of the island of Tonumea, Haapai, situated on
 the shore line just above high water mark. I made diligent search for these
 but failed to find them. They probably had been covered with sand since Mr.
 Rounds' visit.

These are the only petroglyphs which had come to the attention of Tongan
 students previous to my visit. Petroglyphs of a type entirely different from
 172 those on Telekivavau were found on the stone retaining walls of several of
 531 the langis in Mua, Tongatabu.

764 Most of these, including the largest and most elaborate, are on the langi
 Katoo (p. 40) where designs appear on all four sides of this structure, but
 more on the south and east sides. All five terraces contain figured stones,
 their positions relative to each other suggesting no logical order.

The most simple motifs at Katoo consist of straight, parallel, perpendicular
 lines, placed at close intervals, entirely covering the vertical surface of a stone.
 Most of the incised stones are so corrugated. Tier two on the south side
 of the langi, however, contains four adjoining stones that are covered with
 simple but effective geometrical designs composed of perpendicular lines,
 diagonal lines, and chevrons, arranged in alternating groups or in more com-
 plex series. The pecked technique involves a very smooth execution. What-
 ever the original purpose of the figures may have been, the effect produced

The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery. 172 349 [361]

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga. 172 342 [362] 644

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated. (362)

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications. (362) [712]

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high. (342) 172 351 644

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35 (368) 172 346

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

79

were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at 175
the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatoo- 766
ka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral 768
pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round 764
which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for 344
ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The
space round the tomb was on this occasion a palas- 175
tra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, 766
with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for 765
the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and 304
death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly
wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest
horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was
over, fought with each other, and cut themselves
with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars,
their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, [621]
we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the
conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these
dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks,
and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of
the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and ren-
dered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and 175
all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing 643
a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the 662
field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as
Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

294 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

173 Uvea,¹ from Futuna,² and even from Haamoa³ and the far
175 islands to the North.⁴ No man knows whence he derived
643 his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods
[648] themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this
[651] is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of
[776] Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of
[203] the king were carried from one end of the land to the
other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the
[203] message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo
Tokoto*" (making proclamation when reclining).⁵ And
173 seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world
175 held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put
643 heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great
466 stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness;
● 349 and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the
tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great
scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry
out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern
when their bellies are empty.

173 Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who
175 was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the
643 people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua
[224] into the bay, and they would land on the islands to
arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near
Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

¹ Wallis Island.

² Hoorn Island.

³ Samoa.

⁴ Gilbert Islands.

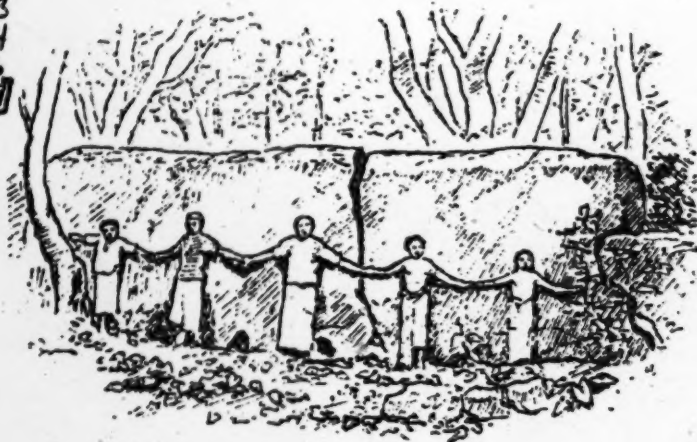
[361] ⁵ At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no
[311] villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family
[161] lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo
Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater
than at present.

300 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

173 suckle them as other women suckle their children!"
175 And he granted her prayer, and let her suckle the child;
643 and she called him Lo-tawai. So he only of them all
saw his father, the Tui Tonga.

And as the years passed the Tui Tonga's face was
changed towards his people, and he laid heavy tasks upon
them, even in the planting-time, when every man should
be in his own yam-garden. For he built a tomb for him-

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466
[549]



The Tomb of a King.

self in the burying-place of his fathers; but he would
surpass them all, and bade the people hew great stones
from the reef, greater than any of his fathers had taken
for their *malae*. And the stone-cutters hewed a huge
stone upon the Liku, like an island for greatness; and the
Tui Tonga sent to the people of Belehake, saying, "Go,
and drag the stone for the side of my *malae*; so I shall
not be forgotten hereafter."

THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL 379

apart. The poem contained five or six stanzas of ten ⁰⁰⁰ lines, and in all these there were but two differences of one word each.

The ancient monuments of Tonga have an interest of ³⁴⁹ their own, since they are the rare efforts of a people who ³⁴² build their houses and temples of materials no more enduring than grass. The tombs of the Tui Tonga, described ³⁴⁹ by so many travellers, are in the ordinary form of the ⁷⁶⁴ Polynesian *malae*, a quadrilateral mound faced by huge ⁶⁴³ blocks of stone, rising sometimes in terraces to a height of ^[77] 20 feet. From the account left to us by the first missionaries of the funeral of Mumui in the year 1797, we know that each of these mounds contains in its exact centre the body of a dead king. The tombs are now so overgrown with forests that it is almost impossible to photograph them. Banyan-trees have sprouted on the terraces, and have bored their roots into every crevice, covering the stones with a lacework of tendrils which, year by year, force great blocks asunder, till the form of the terraces is almost obliterated. I tried to persuade a leading man of ^[784] Mua to clear away the forest and preserve the tombs; but I found that even in these days the tradition of the *tabu* is strong enough to make this a sacrilege. The rule was, ^[769] that after a body was laid to rest, Nature should be allowed to shroud it from the vulgar gaze, and that no foot should trample the hallowed ground until the death of a successor. When this happened, the people reverently cleared the whole ground, and built a new tomb, and practised the extraordinary funeral rites that have been so minutely described by Mariner. But now that the office of Tui Tonga has been abolished, the tombs will never again be cleared

380 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL

● 349 until their site has been forgotten by posterity, or they
[764] have themselves crumbled away into a shapeless mound.
[643]

Besides these tombs, there is an older monument concerning which no tradition has been preserved. It stands upon land which is the peculiar property of the Tui Tonga, at a spot perhaps two furlongs from the beach. It consists of two upright monoliths of hardened coral, neatly squared, and across them rests a similar stone mortised into their summits. Each of these stones must weigh at least fifty tons. I climbed them and found upon the top of the cross [643] stone a cup-like depression, very carefully cut. The only tradition preserved, is that the stones are the property of the Tui Tonga, and are called Haamonga, but their meaning is now forgotten. I carefully examined the surrounding ground for a sign of excavation, but there was none; yet I believe that one may argue from analogy that these stones were set on end by inclined planes of earth as heavy house-posts are sometimes raised to this day. Probably Stonehenge and all the similar monoliths of 000 primitive peoples were raised in the same way. It once fell to my lot to build a native house which was to gratify the natural vanity of the mountaineers in Fiji by surpassing all other houses in size and magnificence. The main posts were enormous logs of *esi*, a timber heavier than oak, and each of them must have weighed more than ten tons. I had the holes dug to receive them, and lined them with two feet of stones to prevent the trees from driving farther into the earth than the measured depth. Then I borrowed some strong tackle-blocks and ropes, and summoned all the able-bodied men of the district to help in lifting them. I carefully explained

382 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL

000 gotten, the primitive method of raising weights is likely to prevail in that district. I asked the old men what they did with heavier weights still, and they immediately answered, "We make the platform of earth, and dig it away to make the log tip up." No doubt, when the log or stone is on end, they dig away the platform, throwing the earth into its old position, so that no trace remains. Having seen the whole process, I shall continue to believe that Stonehenge was built like this, until some one offers a better explanation.

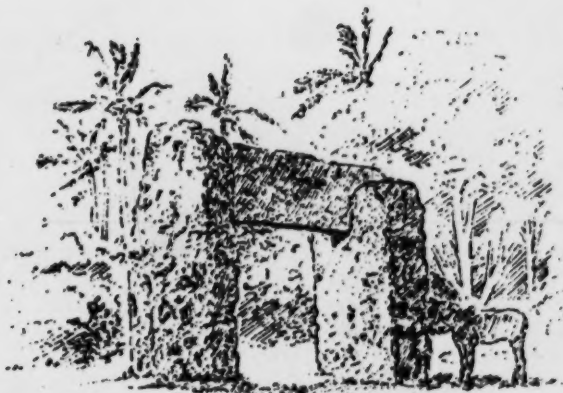
349 There is a legend that the Haamonga stones were brought by the god Maui in a gigantic canoe from Uea [773] (Wallace Island), and that you may see there great holes [823] in the rock whence they were quarried. A European even assured me that the stone is of a kind not found [135] in Tonga at all. This part of the story at least is not true, for the stone is mere coral, hardened by exposure, of exactly the same quality as the reef close by.

136 In discussing the peculiarities of man I have altogether neglected the lower animals in Tonga. The only indigenous mammals were a small field-rat, a fruit-eating bat [226] or flying fox, and a small cave-bat. The rat, having no [526] enemies but man, swarmed throughout the islands: so numerous were they that it was a chieflike sport to shoot them in the paths with a bow and arrow. They have almost vanished now before the cats, dogs, and their voracious Norway cousin, and rat-shooting is now as extinct as bear-baiting in England.

[231] The first foreign arrival was of course the pig. It is a [177] popular fallacy that Captain Cook, among his other benefi-

THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL 393

mighty effort he has made, he sits blinking at you until you get within easy shot. This fatuous behaviour is not likely to bring about his extermination, for the natives of New Guinea prize his eggs so much as a delicacy that they are most unwilling to kill him.



The Haawonga monument.

[p. 394 is blank]

Notes on Tongan Religion.

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god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*. [716] [825]

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua; in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele. [825] [795]

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopoeia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets. [716] [718] [252] [764] [782]

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trillithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god. [716] [349] [716] [825]

The *kalea*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalea*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat. [643] [304]

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalea* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza. [825] [763] [164] [165]

Notes on Tongan Religion.

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uihā. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uihā. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently flock the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akana in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

173 rightly belong to him. There can be little doubt, however,
 643 that he was an exceptionally strong and able king. His
 773 name may be translated King-strike-knee, and so in fact it
 is commonly explained. Tradition asserts that, sitting with
 his back to a rock, he struck out right and left with a long
 staff, and so cleared a space about himself within which he
 allowed none to enter. Thus he safeguarded himself against
 the blow of the murderer. Even if the explanation of the
 name be entirely fictitious, it seems fair to infer that what-
 ever dangers threatened from internal disorder were over-
 come, and that his prowess and sagacity secured both his
 own personal safety, and the peace of his kingdom.

THE HAAMONGA.

173 If tradition is to be trusted the period must have been
 643 one of real power and prosperity, for towards the close of
 349 Tui-ta-tui's reign the determination was taken to build an
 imperishable monument. The famous trilithon in eastern
 Tongatabu was the fruit of this ambitious decision. The
 completion of this structure is by some accounts assigned to
 Tui-ta-tui's sons. The trilithon is even more imposing on
 close inspection than to the casual view, for all about the
 base it is strengthened by a bed of stones, probably pieces
 chipped off in working the great uprights and cross-piece.
 It is probable that the cross-piece was lifted into position by
 being dragged up an inclined plane of soil heaped between
 the uprights. If our assumptions as to chronology, and the
 general reliability of tradition be correct, this monument,
 commonly known as the Haamonga or, more fully, Haamo-
 nga-a-Maui (Burden carried on the shoulder of Maui), dates
 from the thirteenth century. The only purpose assigned to
 it by legend is to be an undying monument, something to see.
 If that be really its object the question of what inspired its
 form is still unsolved. Two uprights with a festoon of leaf
 girdles suspended between them are not uncommon on
 newly-made graves. All that tradition has to say upon the
 subject seems to be summed up in this passage from a Ton-
 gan manuscript, written in 1870: "And (Tui-ta-tui) said,
 'Men do your work, whilst I am still alive,' " meaning to
 build his burial vault, for he was old. But the men did not
 consent to this, and so Tui-ta-tui was buried in the earth,
 thrown out in digging the Haamonga. Tui-ta-tui, however,
 did not give up his project of building something, and they

173 agreed to build something to be called the Haamonga in
 643 after time that should not be destroyed. In the beginning
 349 of the work it was portioned out, foreign groups sharing it,
 Rotuma, Futuna, Uvea, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu and
 Samoa. Three stones were cut, two placed upright, earth
 heaped up between them till it was level with their tops,
 and the third pushed up, and put in place. Then the earth
 was removed and used for little platforms (*sia*) where Tui-
 ta-tui was buried; but the Haamonga stood for a sight."¹⁴

349 The position of the trilithon suggests a gateway to the
 royal compound Heketa. Scattered about are relics of the
 ancient kings. At one point is the *Maka Fakinanga*, a
 large upright slab, which, as its name "the Stone to lean
 against" implies, served as a back rest for the king when he
 sat down on the little stone-faced mound in one side of which
 it is set. Hard by are two stone-faced house platforms, one
 of a single, and the other of three tiers. The blocks are excel-
 lently worked, being much superior in finish to the general-
 ity of the old Tongan stone monuments. The house which
 stood on the larger of these platforms had stone posts, well
 shaped, and with niches at the top to carry the roof beams.
 They are there today, cast down, alas, and broken. A man
 who is cultivating Heketa, and acts as a sort of caretaker
 of the historic spot, says that they were intact till quite
 821 recent years. Those who believe that the origin of the
 349 trilithon is to be found in the skies may see significance
 in the fact that the name of Orion's Belt in Samoan is
Amongu. From this slight hint it is easy to construct a
 theory of a structure of religious, or astronomical, import,
 perhaps due to direct Samoan influence, whose name, be-
 come unintelligible to later centuries, was altered into an
 understandable form. A theory of this sort has a certain
 fascination, but I know of nothing to support it.

349 In regard to the general question of whence these, and
 the other large stones used in the burial vaults of the kings,
 172 *langi*, were obtained, there is no *a priori* reason why most,
 if not all, should not have been cut out of the Tongan reefs.
 346 They are coral limestone, and fairly large pieces are cut
 from the reefs to-day for burial vaults. So far as I am
 aware, however, nobody has seen places on the reefs whence

14. I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for a copy of this manu-
 script.

- 349 the very large stones used in the old structures have been
 172 quarried; but, on the other hand, no systematic search may
 316 have been made. Traditionary evidence, however, is suffi-
 316 ciently strong to warrant the belief that some at least of the
 stones were brought from distant islands, notably Uvea.

349 All these imposing structures are incontrovertible evi-
 643 dence of power. They were possible only to kings at whose
 461 command was a practically unlimited supply of labour. The
 population of the islands may have been little, if any,
 greater, than at present, but the king must have had the un-
 questioned right to the labour of every man. The fragment
 quoted above indicates such a right extending over a very
 much larger area than the present Tongan group. Despotic
 773 power can accomplish much. A tradition relates that two
 461 chiefs, brothers, were engaged in hauling a huge stone,
 which the labourers found quite beyond their strength.
 Night fell, but the stone had not been moved. In the dark-
 ness the brothers took counsel together, and, when the work
 was resumed on the morrow, threatened with death any
 man who did not pull satisfactorily. The threat was efficaci-
 ous, and "the stone ran" into its place, as the Tongan
 idiom has it.

REMOVAL OF KINGS TO MUA.

- 173 The two sons of Tui-ta-tui initiated an important change.
 643 They were interested in boats, and each possessed a large
 canoe. Heketa was ill-provided with anchorages, and they
 shifted their abode nearer to the centre of the north coast of
 Tongatabu, to the present Mua, or Lapaha (equivalent to
 Lambasa in Fiji), where they found safe shelter for their
 boats. Henceforth this site was the abode of the Tui Tonga
 349 and his court. Here are the *langi*, burial vaults, so well
 764 known to the modern sight-seer. These vaults stand in a
 766 long row, with isolated ones scattered about. The earliest
 probably dates from about the thirteenth century. The
 finest of these, with corners of immense single blocks hewn
 into right angles, stands nearer the sea than the main
 row of *langi*. It is associated with the name of Telea, who
 belongs to about the beginning of the seventeenth century;
 but its position suggests the probability that its erection be-
 longs to the reign of an earlier king. There have been very
 recent interments in this *langi*. It should be remarked that
 highly competent Tongan authority asserts that the kings

An Experiment in Tongan History.

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were frequently buried secretly, and not in the vault where the interment ostensibly took place, so as to be secure from violation by their enemies.

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THE WOODEN KING.

Two generations after Tui-ta-tui a curious incident occurred, which seemed to show a reluctance to break through the succession of son to father. Talaatama was in reality succeeded by his brother Talai-haa-pepe. The genealogies show a late example of a king succeeding to his half-brother, though evidently the later king in this case had a very much younger mother than his predecessor. When Talaatama died, however, Talai-haa-pepe took a block of wood, and installed that as Tui Tonga, the Tui-tonga-nui. The wooden king was given a wife, and in due time it was announced that she was pregnant. Later followed the sad announcement that the king was dead. His wooden majesty was buried, and Talai-haa-pepe was installed, one hazards the guess rather as the son of the wooden king, than as the brother of the last real occupant of the throne.

SAMOAN WAR—1250.

After Talai-haa-pepe reigned Tala-kai-faiki, a noted warrior, ruthless as he was energetic and able. In the thirteenth century he brought a large part of Samoa under his sway, but his cruelty augmented the restiveness which a spirited people always feels under the yoke of the conqueror, and he was driven out by the Samoans, led by Tuna and Fata, whose brother was the first bearer of the title of Malietoa. The defeated king's farewell to Samoa is a model of fair and succinct treaty-making:

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Noble courage, finely fought,
Not again shall I come
With strife to Samoa;
But my coming shall be
On a voyage of peace.

There is also a Samoan lament, put into the mouth of Tala-kai-faiki's mother, who supposed that her son was killed, somewhat in the spirit of portions of Deborah's Song in the fifth chapter of Judges. The silence of Tongan tradition concerning this war is not a little strange. Since the event was not favourable to Tonga, the Tongan bards may for that reason have rejected the theme. There may

CEREMONIES AT DEATH.

269

one body. No particle of clay or earthy mould is allowed to touch the remains of the dead. The sand is brought in baskets by the chief mourners, who sometimes sail or journey many miles to procure it; and each person pours the contents into the grave, until it is sufficiently filled up. The top of the grave is, afterwards, carefully tended and decorated with black pebbles and red coral, arranged in various devices, which have a very pretty effect. Small houses are also placed over the tombs of the chiefs and gentry. Owing, however, to the circumstance that many of the religious practices of heathenism required visits, and offerings, at the graves of deceased individuals, whose interposition with the gods was thought necessary, these places were much more carefully attended to formerly than they are now. Indeed, the Missionaries will, probably, find it needful to advise the people against running into the extreme of negligence, and indifference, about the last resting-places of deceased friends.

In the days of heathenism, occasions of burials and marriages were accompanied by immense feasting, proportioned according to the rank of the parties, or the will of those connected with them. Property, of various kinds, was always prepared by the relations and friends against these times, and brought as gifts. These were thrown into one common stock, from which they were again distributed, by those authorized to do so, to the assembled company. These distributions of property often led to bitter family and tribal animosities, and were seasons when the true and inordinate covetousness of the people could not remain concealed. These practices still continue, to some

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649 bring devastation upon Tonga. By 1810, however,
651 the political system had decentralized and changed
[784] such that the *'Inasi* was discontinued.
[178]

644 Being absolute lord over all the Tonga Islands, the
[562] *Tu'i Tonga* was surpassed only in rank by his sister,
the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*. (It remains true in Tonga
even today that women hold superiority over men in
ceremonial ranking.) Still higher, and in fact, the
person of highest rank traditionally in the entire
Kingdom was the *Tamaha*—that is, the eldest
daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine*. The rank of the
Tamaha was so great that even the *Tu'i Tonga* had
to pay homage to her.

764 In historic times, tombs called *langi* were erected
766
349

[P. 29-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30B]

764
766
949



Some of the immense, stone burial structures called *lengi* measured between 150 and 200 feet in length. Reproduction here is from an 1827 engraving. According to records and traditions (McKern, 1929), there are 45 *lengi* in Tonga: 37 on Tongatapu, 6 in Ha'apai, and 2 in Vava'u.

Na'e fa'unga e lahi 'o e ngaahi langi 'e ni'ihii mo e fute 'e 150 ki he 200. Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i he 1827. 'Oku pehe tokua 'oku 45 e langi 'i Tonga: 37 'i Tongatapu, 6 'i Ha'apai, pea 2 'i Vava'u.

[p. 30-A]

3): Gerstle & Raitt C, Q-4, 5 (1952-1972)
1974 009 Tonga 009

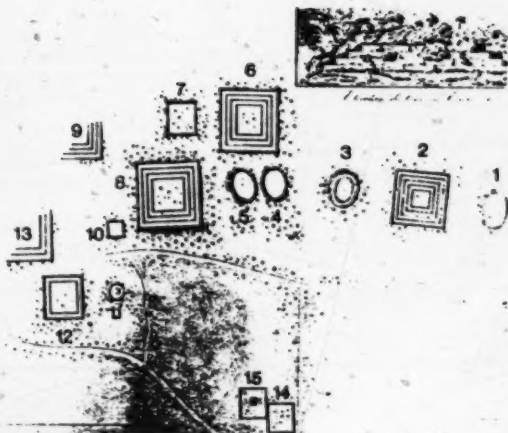
764 for the *Tu'i Tonga* and high-ranking members of his
766 family. The majority of the *langi* were built on
● 349 Tongatapu in the village of Mu'a, which was for
many years the center of Tongan culture and where
today there exist the remains of many of the
impressive stone monuments. In general, the term
349 *langi* implies a structure consisting of one or more
terraces made of large, rectangular slabs of coral
sandstone or limestone. However, *langi* were
reportedly only earthen mounds at first, and then
during the reign of the *Tu'i Tonga* Tu'itatui in the
eleventh century, stone structures were erected to
serve as royal tombs.¹⁰

316 As huge stones for a *langi* had to be quarried,
324 transported and then constructed at the appropriate
location, a tremendous amount of cooperation,
time, workmanship and communal labor were
[649] necessary. In Tonga, this was made possible by the
rigid organization of the socio-political system under
the *Tu'i Tonga*, who could command highly
organized labor and discipline from his subjects.

[p. 30-B]

764 This plan of the "tangi" at Mu'a was done
766 in 1827 by an artist on Dumont
349 d'Urville's voyage. The description, by
number, as to who was believed at that
time to be buried in each royal tomb,
appears on page 95.

Ko e mape eni 'o e tangi 'i Mu'a, 'a ia na'e
fai 'i he 1827 'e ha tangata ta fakatata
na'e folau ki Tonga pea mo e tangata
folau 'iloa ko Dumont d'Urville. Ko e
fakaikiiki 'o e ngaahi telou'anga 'oku ha la
'i he peesi 95.



This colossal banyan tree, named *Makumalu* or *Mullangi*, was the spot in Mu'a, according to oral tradition, where early Tongans landed to unload their tributes to the *Tu'i Tonga* for the annual 'Inasi ceremony. It is also allegedly at the site where Cook came ashore in 1777, and has thus been called "Captain Cook's Tree." Measuring 100 feet in circumference when this sketch was made in 1827, the legendary tree perished not too many years ago, and has since been replaced by a smaller banyan tree.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o e fu'a 'ovava ko Makumalu 'o Mullangi 'i Mu'a. 'Oku paha foki ko e fu'uta'anga ia 'o e kau Tonga he kuo hiki 'i he 'enau 'omi 'Inasi fakata'u ki he Tu'i Tonga. 'Oku 'ai foki mo e tui na'e fu'uta heni 'a Kapiteni Kuki 'i he 1777, pea ui ai 'a he ni'ihii e fu'u 'akau ni ko e "Fu'u 'Ovava 'o Kapiteni Kuki." Na'e fai e ta fakatata ni he 1827, pea 'i he taimi ko ia na'e fu'unga mo e fute 'e 100 hono fua takakali. Kuo 'osi mata foki e fu'u 'ovava ni, ka kuo 'osi to ai he ki'i fu'u 'ovava si'isi'i ko hono fetongi.



Early engraving of a langi. The house on top was for the major matafua to dwell in while presiding over the extensive burial and mourning ceremonies of the Tu'i Tonga. Such remarkable stone structures represented the epitome of Tongan architectural skill and socio-political organization; however, in general, structures were more complicated in style and function in central Polynesia (e.g. Society Islands, where altars for worship and human sacrifices, god houses, temples, and other sacred enclosures or marae were more elaborate). The art of stone masonry probably came to Tonga from Fiji, as did the design for the Tongan kalia or double canoe; however, the Tongans were characteristically quick to adopt and expand upon new ideas, so they soon became more highly developed than the Fijians in stone work.

Ko e ta fakatoto eni 'o ha langi 'i ono'aho. Ko e fale e 'o e kau ha'a tufunga 'i he fanga langi lototonga 'enau ngathi ngaue 'i hono talia 'o e Tu'i Tonga. Neongo na'e faka'oto'oto 'a hono fanga e ngathi langi 'i Tonga, na'e toe fu'u mavave atu 'a hono fai e fanga 'ati e maka 'i he ngathi feitu'u kafekehe 'i Polinisia. 'Oku pehe na'e ma'u 'e Tonga mai Fisi 'a e fa'ahinga ngaue ni, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloa kuo fakakata 'a Tonga ia 'i Fisi 'i he fa'ahinga langi ni.

764
766
349
211
178



Although "langi" are no longer used as royal burial places, they remain as memorials to Tonga's past, as in the photo above of the *langi* called "Tau'atonga" in Mu'a. The Royal Tombs (below), located in Nuku'alofa, have been the burial place of Tonga's Royal Family since 1893.

'Oku 'ikai kei ngaue'aki he ngaahi 'aho ni e langi hanga ko e "Langi Tau'atonga" ko ia 'i Mu'a, 'a ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga. Ko Mala'e Kula 'i Nuku'alofa (ta 'i /alo)—ko e telio'anga ia 'o ha'a tu 'i talu mei he 1893.

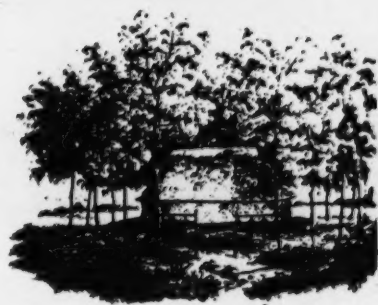


[p. 33]



Early burial places for Tongan chiefs usually consisted of vaults inside of earth and sand mounds. For memorial or protective purposes, a wooden shelter was often built atop the mound, such as in these 1827 engravings.

Ko e ongo ta fakatata eni 'o ha ongo fa'itoka 'o hou'aki 'a
ia na'e fai 'i he 1827. Na'e fa'a lango 'i he funge fa'itoka he
ki'i fela fakamahumu.



114]

[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[May

122 before us, I hauled into a bay which lays between the South end of
133 Lefooga and the North end of Ooleva, and there anchored in 17
fathom water, the bottom sand with here and there rock. The Dis-
covery did not get to an anchor till sunset, she touched upon one of
the Shoals, but backed off again without receiving any damage.

312 As soon as we had anchored I sent Mr Bligh to Sound the bay in
which we lay and my self accompanied by Mr Gore, landed on the
Southe[r]n part of Lefooga to examine the Country and look for
fresh water, not that we wanted any having filled all our casks at the
last place, but had been told that at this part of the island was some
better than any we had met with. This will not be the only time I
shall have to remark that these people do not know what good Water
is. We were conducted to two wells and found the Water bad in both
and the Natives told us they had no better.¹ Near the South end of
349 the Island and on the West side, we met with a artificial Mount,
223 that had been raised in remote times, as large trees &c^a were growing
upon it. I judged it to be about Forty feet high and the Diameter of
its summit measured fifty.² At the foot of this Mount stood a stone
which must have been hewn out of Coral rock, it was 4 feet broad 2½
thick and 14 high, and we were told by the Natives present that not
above half its length was above ground. They called it Tangata
349 (Man) or Arekee (King) and told us that it was set up and the Mount
211 raised by some of their fore Fathers in memory of one of their Kings,
122 but how long sence they could not tell.³ Night coming on we returned
133 on board, and at the same time Mr Bligh from sounding the bay, in
which he found from 14 to 20 fathoms water, the bottom for the most

¹ Natives of coral islands did not feel the need of water for drinking, and what they had
was good enough for fresh-water washing. Hence the difference of opinion between
[212] Tongans and Cook about what was 'good' water. Cook's men followed the native example,
e.g. with the muddy and brackish fluid at Nomuka—"but the milk of the coconuts in a
great measure made up for the badness of it; as they were so plentiful that we seldom drank
any thing else".—Gilbert.

² "In many of our walks about this Island we saw more numerous & extensive planta-
tions than at Anamocks, & in better order; yet towards the sea side particularly to the
Eastward, the country is still waste owing perhaps to its being a sandy soil; an artificial
mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of trees surrounding a green plot
attract'd our notice; we were busy in forming conjectures as to the use of this spot, when we
learnt that it was only a decoy for Pidgeons, being inticed thither by its shade & coolness,
& likely by the natives putting some thing they like, whilst they hide themselves among the
shrubs, & with a net throw over & catch them."—King, 21 May. This artificial mount has
now crumbled away, and Lifuka is virtually flat from one end to the other. *Sialakips* was
the name given to the mount where wild pigeons (*laps*) were snared. As Uoleva, the next
island south, had a large number of pigeon mounds, and seems to have been a favourite
spot for the chiefly sport, this mound may quite likely have belonged to the same series.

³ The great stone no longer exists, except possibly underground. There are much smaller
monumental stones extant, some built into *langi*, and there are said to be two monoliths
as far away from Lifuka as Niustoputapu, important enough to have names. But the only
familiar thing of the sort is the great trilithon called Ha'amonga 'a Maui, at Hahake near
Kolonga on Tongatapu, which many date from as early as the eleventh century.

1777]

LIFUKA

[873

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. 114
 The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good 499
 many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a 634
 present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, 491
 Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between 648
 the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine 609
 green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded
 with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that
 it was almost impossible to stir.

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. 192
 We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a
 great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us 609
 mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect 114
 us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole
 island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Anna- 311
 mooka. The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and
 we found large spots well planted with the *Morus papyrifera* (paper 194
 Mulberry),¹ but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east 162
 side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is 241
 much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the 417
 middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than 167
 the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in 312
 in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd
 fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most 223
 civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of 349
 having no good water that we could see, for though we found several
 ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some 344
 large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet 764
 from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one 349
 place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with
 an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made
 us understand people sate to catch pigeons.² At another place was a
 house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area
 of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort
 publickly to;³ and near the landing place we saw one of their burying
 grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with
 gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the
 bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.⁴ Most of the 000

¹ *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.
² Tongan male's.

³ One of the mounds called *sialupe*.
⁴ A *fa'itaka*.

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[May

114] which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

311] On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiva though almost as large as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has a bending at the N part where there seems good anchorage. We found an artificial mount like that at Hapace raised as high as some of the surrounding trees with an harbour upon it for catching Pigeons.

193] Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers has come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe¹ or Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect 142 we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the evening he went on shore to Lai'fooga, and to show that his corpulence had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously enough, but he soon tir'd of the exercise. The Captain went on shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the

¹ Fatafahi.

1777]

ISLAND EMPLOYMENTS

[893

blind with a disorder of his Eyes. It is probable he precedes the other in rank as he certainly posses'd what we might call the seat of honour, sitting under the tree and fronting us as we walk'd up, while the other sat aside, and indeed it appear'd that he was rather disappointed by our addressing Mareewagee first & paying most attention to him. [643] [164]

SATURDAY 14th. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. The people on shore employ'd as before & those on board mostly in the hold. The natives brought a good deal of fruit and some hogs off & a brisk trade is carried on at the tent. We had a visit from Poulaho who now lives constantly at the house or Ma'lacc by the tent, I believe with an intention to superintend or see that no mischief is done by his people. The Captain made him a present of some things but neither of the other chiefs came off as they had promis'd yesterday. He entertain'd our people at night with a dance at the tent, and to the surprize of every body the unwieldy Poulaho endeavour'd to vye with others in that active amusement. [643] [648] [535]

A Canoe went to the Buoy where our boats lay and stole an iron pin belonging to one of them, for which we confin'd one in irons who was found in the Canoe though not the principal, but the iron being return'd in the afternoon he was set at liberty. [648]

SUNDAY 15th. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In the forenoon some of us walk'd to the westward of the tent and found the country totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite cover'd with trees and bushes in a natural state growing with the greatest vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain on which are some Cocoa trees and a few small plantations that appear to have been lately made, and seemingly on ground that has never been broke in before, but it seems to preserve the same appearance still farther on. We found that several of the principal people, as Marec'wagee, Too'bou, Fee'nou & some others had erected temporary huts to live in while they remain'd here, near the path which leads through the uncultivated part immediately west of the tent. Near the creek which runs to the eastward of the tent the land is quite flat and partly overflow'd by the sea every tide. When that retires the surface is seen to be compos'd of coral rock with holes of a yellowish mud scatter'd up and down; and towards the edges where it is a little firmer are innumerable little holes, from which issue as many small crabs of two or three different sorts which cover the place as flies on a carcase, but are so nimble that on ones approaching they disappear in an instant and baffle even the natives to catch any of them. [342] [643] [634] [193] [136]

At this place is an artificial work which shows these people have [349]

894]

[1777]
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[June

349 some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish any thing. It begins on one side as a narrow Causeway, which becoming gradually broader rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad and the whole length 74 paces. Joind to this is a sort of Circus or centre, whose diameter is thirty paces and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway, that joins it with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side to the Causeway another of the same sort descends but is not more than forty paces long, and partly fallen down. The whole is built of large Coral stones with earth on its surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs and from its decaying in several places seems of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly it seems to be of none now, and all that we could learn of it from the natives was that it belonged to Poulaho and is call'd E'tchee.¹

643 The Captain brought Mareewagee and Too'bou on board to
648 dinner and it was observ'd that these people, though of great rank,
644 paid the usual mark of submission by bowing the head & touching
576 the feet to a boy of twelve or fourteen² who is a son of Poulahos and is
intended to succeed his father as king of the isles.

192 MONDAY 16th. The wind se? Fresh breezes with cloudy weather till
near the evening when it was more moderate and clearer. Our people
114 employ'd as before and as we were at work in the hold examin'd
some of the English bread which was found in very good condition.
499 The trade for provisions not so brisk as formerly.

192 TUESDAY 17th. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather.
In the morning when walking to the left of the tent we met several
643 hundreds of the natives each carrying a pole with a small yam at both
651 ends, and instead of these some had two or three bread fruit, which
482 they carried to a large space that had been clear'd away before
Mareewagees temporary hut, throwing them down and forming a
large heap which they call'd Ha'pae³ on each side. Several also
brought a good many small fish stuck upon the points of the twigs of
some wither'd branches which they carried in their hands, and laid
585 down as an addition to the heaps. About eleven o'clock they began
533 in the same clear space to exhibit various dances which they call
534 Mai,⁴ the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat
down and amongst them three instruments which we call'd Drums

¹ An ear or 'rest mound'.² The boy called Fatafchi Fuanunuiava.[192] ³ 'api'api, crowded, full. It has nothing to do with the name of the island group. A road crowded with men, or a basket full of many things, would be called 'Api-api', says Mariner. Cf. Clerke's confusion, p. 102, n. 1 above.⁴ 'mai'.

1777]

EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS

[901

their antagonist and give him another very smart one with the other hand backwards. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the partys either leave off together or one acknowledges his being beat in that manner, but they never sing the victory in these cases unless one strikes his antagonist to the ground, which shows that of the two wrestling is their most approv'd diversion. Not only boys engage as often as the men in both these excercises, but frequently little girls, who are generally mention'd by some person in the circle, box very bitterly for a short time; in all which cases it does not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquish'd, and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never enterd the lists. Some of our people ventur'd to contend with them in both excercises, but were always worsted, except in a few cases where it appear'd that the fear they were in of offending us gain'd a greater share of the victory than the superiority of the person who engag'd. 526 [857]

THURSDAY 19th. The weather pretty good but at night cloudy with some showers of rain. Our people employ'd as usual. The Captain made a distribution to day of the live stock he intended to leave here, giving a heifer, bull and cow to Poulaho, a horse and mare to Feenou, and a ram with two ewes to Mareewagee, at the same time giving directions how they should be rear'd and propogated: but they did not show any particular marks of satisfaction as if they considered them a usefull acquisition. 132 114 648 177 231

FRIDAY 20th. The wind E or EBN. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather. The people employ'd as usual. In the morning two of the Turkeys on shore were missing, and upon suspicion that the Indians had stole them the Captain confind Poulaho & Feenou with a guard at the tent, and orderd a large Canoe that was along side the ship to be detain'd; but they were soon releas'd on producing an axe and wedge & one of the Turkeys that had been stolen before, with a promise to restore the other Turkey. 132 648 634 643

SATURDAY 21st. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather but at night a few showers and squalls. The Indians, many of whom had been absent for two days from their being unable to procure victuals upon the spot, collected in great numbers about the tent and in the morning two large piles, each compos'd of the trunks of four trees plac'd near [each] other in a square about thirty feet high, were erected with pieces fastend across to get up by. These were fill'd to the top with large yams, and in the forenoon a number 132 648 431 643 [344]

[1777]

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[June

904]

226 furnish'd, and wading up to the middle within the seine directed it slowly under water where they saw any fish, and rais'd it up pretty quickly, bringing the fish when the[y] caught any in it. We got a few
 114 mullet from them & then row'd to the bottom of the bay where we landed on going to see Mareewagge, from whence we proceeded to Poulahos house which was but a little way off. Almost close by it we
 764 found a Fya'tocka or burying place much more extensive and seemingly of more consequence than any we had seen at the other islands. It consisted of three pretty large houses situated on a rising ground or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all rang'd longitudinally. The middle house of the three first
 764 was by much the largest, and plac'd in a square 24 paces by twenty
 349 eight rais'd about three feet high, with the surface coverd with shingle stones and the whole bounded by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, plac'd on their edges, one of which measur'd twelve feet in length, two in breadth and above one in thickness. The others
 764 were plac'd on little mounts rais'd artificially to the same height and
 592 coverd with gravel, one of the huts, contrary to what we had seen
 [349] before, being open on one side which we enterd & found coverd with shingle, with two rude wooden busts of men, one at the entrance the other farther in, the last of which from its appearance had been there perhaps several ages. On calling to some of the natives who had follow'd us to the ground but durst not enter here, to enquire what they were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there.³ A[t] the foot of the rising ground there is a large area or plat of grass with different trees about it, amongst which are several of those
 764 call'd Etôâ very large, which resemble the Cypress & have a fine effect in such a place. There is also a row of low palms near one of the houses & behind them is a ditch in which was a vast number of old baskets.

361 We travers'd the greatest part of the country about the bottom of the Bay which is call'd Mooa,³ and found it perfectly cultivated for
 [311] above a mile back from the sea, and full of inclosures made by such fences as were seen at Ha'pae but they were more extensive and had
 [565] finer roads in the interspaces. The habitations within these inclosures are very numerous and belong chiefly to some of the principal people
 351 of the island, many of whom reside at this place. Each of them has a proper entrance or door, generally higher than the fence & of a
 342 sufficient breadth, which opens in the same manner as one properly
 419 hung upon hinges, behind which is a pretty large spar that rests with

³ Cf. Cook, p. 139, n. 1 above.³ Mu'a.

1777]

TONGAN HOUSES

[935

here, though they are rather intended as conveniencies to their dwellings than a shelter to the plantations. They are made by passing two reeds together obliquely upwards over two others, and so on in such a manner that they form a pretty lattice work with rhomboidal spaces of about two inches to a side, though there are others made quite close by placing five or six together alternately over and under each other. The uneven tops are left uncut and the foot kept clean by digging up the grass with the Hooo, by which care & frequent repairs they seem to last a long time.

It is not easy to guess why these people who in many things show much taste and ingenuity should fall short in building their houses, not so much in the execution but design. Those of the lower people are poor huts scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable but not what one would expect. The dimensions of a middling one is about thirty feet long, twenty broad and twelve high. It is properly speaking a sort of roof or shade, rounded at the ends, reaching to within two feet and a half (or three at most) of the ground all round, under which they creep in. It is supported by strong posts plac'd commonly at equal distances a little within the edge, with others laid along upon their tops and some laid across from these, which again have perpendicular ones rising from their middle to support the top ridge. These are firmly lash'd together with a cord made of Cocoa nut fibres, in which they indicate their taste for variety by mixing white and black so as always to represent som[e] regular figure. The frame on which the thatching is supported consists of well made laths laid in a very regular manner from top to bottom, with others running across in the same manner without them & fastend with the Cocoa cord. The thatch is chiefly of Cocoa & other leaves laid over these laths in such a way, by being doubled under them & intercepted by the next, that they need little fastening and to a thickness which makes them proof against the rain or wind. Some of the principal people have houses almost twice as large, and the Ma'laces or houses of public resort which are pretty numerous are still larger; but there is a sort commonly smaller than the dwelling houses, almost round and well clos'd on every side with reeds plac'd close together, except a small square hole to creep in at. These serve as store houses to preserve their cloth, matts, yams & other spare things in that their dwelling places may not be incumbered, and are so contriv'd that the reeds composing the sides point outwards, so that it seems to stand upon a narrow base, which with the thatch projecting over a little way effectually prevents any rain getting in. The houses of the

936]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

● 344 Fyatoockas have their sides made close in the same manner but are perpendicular, & a few of the best belonging to the principal people are also done in that way with some open spaces at different parts to get in by. The only probable reason I can assign for their negligence in Architecture is their fondness of living much in the open air, in so much that they seem to consider their houses as of little use but to sleep in and retire to in bad weather; and the lower sort of people who spend a great part of their time in attending the others, being almost constantly in their houses, can have no use for them but in the last case.

501 They make amends for the former defect, if it can be truly reckon'd one, by their attention to and great dexterity in Naval Architecture, if I may be allow'd to give it that name. Their Canoes are of two sorts, one of them us'd chiefly to fish in or go to any small distance, the other to Navigate from isle to isle. The first are by far the most numerous¹ and are commonly about five and twenty feet long, near two over at the broadest part, and scarcely so deep. The Bow is exactly like a wedge, from whence it turns gradually broader towards the middle and tapers away till the after part, which droops lower than the fore ends not unlike the tail of a fish. There is a deck runs from forward to near a third of its length aft and another from abaft forward but somewhat shorter. They are built of a tree call'd Toee,² the wood of which is variously colour'd and the pieces or planks are so numerous, I know not whether from necessity or design, that I have counted twenty six in one of a common size on one side. Each plank is fitted with such nicety that they would do credit to an expert European artist, the only joining to be seen on the outside being a line not more open than some in our common Cabinet work; But on the inside there is a small ridge on the edge of each plank, through which & the one next it holes are made by which they are lash'd firmly with cord. The side of the Boat is rounded and every part of the outside neatly polish'd, with little knobs on the two decks where they fasten small white shells as ornaments. They carry from 501 three to five or even six people and are row'd with paddles of about four feet long with an oval, pointed blade which sets them along at a very quick rate. Their narrowness obliges them to use an outrigger or they would be constantly oversetting. This is made by placing a pretty thick spar about three feet from the boats side parallel to it, which is fixt to two others that are laid across the boat from the opposite side,

¹ This was the *tafa'anga*, 'among the most elegant of Pacific outriggers', says James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, I (Honolulu, 1936), p. 259.

² *Tol*, *Alphitonia zizyphoides*.

1777]

EXCURSION ON 'EUA

[961

nothing but the trees that cover them, but here the land rising gently upwards presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees are only interspers'd at irregular distances in beautiful disorder and the rest covered with grass. Near the shore again it is quite cover'd with various trees amongst which are the habitations of the natives, and to the right of our station was one of the most extensive groves of Cocoa palms I ever saw. 133 137 361

SUNDAY 13th. The wind E. Fresh breezes with cloudy W^r & in the evening a little rain. Brought off a Launch load of water. Traded on shore for a good number of Yams and some hogs. 132 114

In the afternoon a party of us made an excursion to the highest part of the island, which was a little to the right, and in our way pass'd a deep valley or rather chasm which is very narrow. About half way up we could see that part of the island under us extended into a large down which had several risings interspers'd with small clusters of trees, but quite uncultivated, and cover'd with grass about the height of the knee where numberless cattle might be fed. On the top we found a round heap of coral stones which they call'd E'tchee as that at Tonga, and seem'd to say it was a mark of Poulahos sovereignty over the island. At this place was also a spring of excellent water, and though we found Coral rock at the surface, on crossing the deep valley which is several hundred feet above the sea we saw here a soft reddish rock and some sand stone. The top of the island from this to the north point is an extended flat like that before mentioned, behind which it rises gradually; but the east side of the island, though it has a flat like the opposite one, terminates in steep craggs towards the sea and is at this place in all not above five or six miles broad. Besides the plants common on the other isles we found on the height a species of *Acrosticum*,¹ *Melastoma*² and Fern tree³ with a few other ferns and plants not common below. Amongst the rest was the Jeejee in its natural state which grows eight or ten feet high. We return'd by another road which led us through a wooded part of the country and about third way down met with a little pool of excellent water which kept running into a much larger below, but we could not follow it as the valley was rugged and the natives say it does not reach the sea unless when it rains much. We found they burnt the grass in many places but could not discover that it was intended for planting, although they have a few spots cultivated almost to the top. 137 487 312 311

¹ Probably this was the fern Hakato, *Acrostichum aureum*.

² *Melastoma denticulatum*, a branched spreading shrub called in Tonga Peaikuku.

³ The fern tree Longolongo, *Cycas circinalis*, found all over Tonga, and especially common on 'Eua.

[1777]
APPENDIX III

1312]

000 that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.
 175 The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use
 411 Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of
 1771 ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs, which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows, with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us, the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly
 829 Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being suffered to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.
 175 Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;¹ in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried & buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard, in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the
 764 People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of
 766 People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd
 [349] not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here, they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd to pay to the deccas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement, for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting, than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them; they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the left to the Mother.²

¹ This was evidently a *laagi*, or royal tomb.² This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

1364]

[1777]
APPENDIX III

mother; whenever we ask'd what they were, & if very superior people, they would be surpris'd at the Question, & said they were Tamaha's, a distinguishing name higher than any, but what particular meaning is in the word, we could not find out. Although from their fathers country they might not be intitled to power & Possessions, yet their superior rank may arise from that line, as they generally admit that they are oblig'd to shew signs of respect to the Feegee chiefs, by folding their hands before their face & bowing their bodies. Women in this Country enjoy equal Privileges of honour & respect with the men, for at our Observatory there were two women who had homage paid to them by the Chiefs, & to one of them Fattafaihe used to bow: I understood this woman to be his near relation, she had her husband with her, who enjoyd none of these marks of honour.

'Eua

f. 86v. [13 JULY] . . . on the top of the hill is a circular place pil'd round with coral stones & one or two large ones in the middle, this place they call'd Etchee¹ & said it was built as a mark of Powlohow's sovereignty: there was an Excellent spring of fresh water close by it; we met in several places in the chasms of the rocks very good water & which might be conveyd down to where the Natives are, yet they do not appear to regard good water, as they in their houses always gave us indifferent & often very brackish water to drink. We were all delightd with the charming prospect from this hill; the Sea on the ~~se~~ side of the Island is but at a little distance from it & the land rises in broken hills, rugg'd & cliffy, & is not capable of much improvement, but the nw part of the Island has a fine assemblage of hills & Valleys with extensive Meadows & patches of wood, with now & then a plantation; Yet this kind of Country, which we praise so much, does not answer so well the purposes of what the Natives cultivate as the flat borders by the Sea Side, so that it is in a great measure Waste; but it struck us strongly, as the best calculatd place for Cattle of all the Islands; & we thought that to make the Landscape the most charming one imaginable, would be sheep & Cattle upon the Meadows & hills before us; We rather hop'd than firmly believ'd, that the sheep which had been given to Marrawaggee & now put on shore here would thrive, since the 2 Yews were very poor & the Ram quite young, however as there are no dogs yet in this Island & as the Natives do not much admire them, they stand a chance of being unmolest'd & from that circumstance may thrive & answer the purpose for which they are left.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS

[Adm 55/116, ff. 88v-89, 89v-90, with excisions]

In regard to their numbers I know of no criterion by which to make even a tolerable guess, the Natives followed us from one Island to another, therefore it is not possible to know the number of any one Island we visit'd; at

Coral Islands.—Scenic and Historic Places.

79

and mobs of untended horses roam through the island. It contains varied scenery, valleys, and precipitous cliffs lining the eastern coast.

TOGATABU. This name (Sacred Tonga), as well as the others used by the people (Great Tonga and Chiefly Tonga), attests the importance of the largest island in the minds of generations of Tongans. From the foundation of Tonga to the present it has been the residence of the kings and the centre of religious and social life, and modern investigation has confirmed the native tradition that Togatabu was settled before Ha'abai and Vava'u. The island is 99 square miles in extent, with its extreme length 18 miles and greatest breadth 9 miles. The southern coast is rather higher than the northern, where the capital, Nuku'alofa, is situated opposite the only openings in the reef which surrounds the island; but Togatabu generally is low, except in the east where the land rises to 270 feet. There are three main roads traversing the island from west to east and several cross-roads. The present population is 12,357, of whom 11,660 are pure Tongans.

Nuku'alofa is the capital, the residence of the sovereign, and the centre of government and trade for the whole group. The Palace and Royal Chapel are conspicuous buildings; and the royal dais in the chapel is finely carved. The tombs of the present line of kings are at Mala'e-kula, in the centre of the town. Behind the British Consulate is a hill (Zion), the site of the old fort described by Mariner.

Mu'a, which consists of two villages, Tatakamotoga and Labaha, was the ancient capital; the kings of the Tu'i Toga line after Tu'itatui resided at Labaha, as also did the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the southern village of Tatakamotoga belonged to the Tu'i Kanokubolu. In Mu'a there was also a renowned enclosure, Fanakava, which was a sanctuary for refugees from justice. The most remarkable feature of the Mu'a district is the series of 28 tombs (lagi) of the ancient kings. Each of these is a rectangular structure, covering as much as three-fourths of an acre, with from three to five terraces in pyramidal form, built of blocks of stone the largest of which weigh 30 tons each. Many of these tombs are well-preserved and easily accessible, especially the Baebae of Tele'a, whose smooth surfaces and L-shaped corner-stones have won the admiration of experts. Such striking examples of the skill of ancient Tongan stonemasons afford one of the finest sights in the South Seas.

At the extreme east of the island, at Heketa near Niutoua, there is situated the famous trilithon known as the Ha'amoga-'a-Maui. This was built by the Tu'i Toga, Tu'itatui, about the year 1200, probably as a gateway. The upright stones are 17 feet high, and the cross-piece is 19 feet in length. Nearby are the stone where Tu'itatui sat, the Maka Fakinaga, and two tombs from the same period.

The remains of "Captain Cook's tree," called Malumalu 'o Fulilagi by the people, may be seen at Alaki. It was here that Cook was entertained in 1777 when he visited the Tu'i Toga and saw the presentation of first-fruits.

Stalactite caves near Haveluliku on the southern coast, like those found in other parts of Tonga, seem to have been used for burials in ancient times.

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83

'U'ha is the burial-place of great chiefs, including Tubouniua, Tubouto'a, Tevita 'Uga and Vuna. The finest mound ('eji) in Tonga, named Maka Hokovalu, is situated on the north-west of this island. The village of 'U'ha also boasts six cannon taken from a kidnapping ship which met its merited doom while making a raid on the island about the middle of the 19th century. 764
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Tugua was the residence of the highest personage in ancient Tongan society, the Tamaha. 644

Nomuka, in the south of the group, was visited by more voyagers than any other island in Tonga. The pond of fresh water from which Tasman, Cook, Bligh and others took supplies is readily pointed out. 175
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[312]

Navigation lights have been placed at Muifuiva, in the south, and at Multoa, Ha'ano, in the north of Ha'abai. Some islands cannot be approached in bad weather. Many of the smallest ones are uninhabited, though there are various traces of former habitation or of use for plantations or burial-places at Ofolaga, Kelelesia and the 'Otu Tolu. 502
311

VAVA'U OR HA'AFULUHAO. Three-fifths of this beautiful northern group is in one island, 'Uta Vava'u, but the remaining islands are only separated from the mainland by narrow channels. All these islands are comparatively high and undulating, thickly-wooded and very fertile. The highest point is 670 feet. From the hill called Talau, behind the chief town, Nelafu, a magnificent panorama can be obtained, embracing all the islands in the group. Along the northern coast of the main island there are very fine views from the high cliffs at the seat ('eji) of Salote near Hologa and at Ha'alaufu. 133

The harbour of the main island is one of the most picturesque in the Pacific, though shallows and sandbanks make navigation difficult in some places. The Swallows' Cave, often visited by tourists, is on the north of Kaba. The secret cave, entered only by diving, which Mariner's story and Byron's poem have made famous, is situated on the north of the island of Nuababu; here the young chief left his bride until they could embark for Fiji and be safe from the wrath of their relatives.

Nelafu, the port and residence of the governor, is beautifully situated, and good roads radiate from this centre. Until recently at least the average prosperity of the natives in Vava'u was rather higher than in other parts of the group, and they have expended their resources on European houses and European food to a greater extent than elsewhere. Vava'u is not as subject to hurricanes as the more northerly islands of Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu, but nevertheless it has suffered rather frequently, the last occasion being 19th March, 1932. 361
[184]
[134]
731
132

It is remarkable that Vava'u was the last part of Tonga to be discovered, the honour falling to the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781. 175
648

Various places recall the incidents mentioned in Mariner's history, and especially Feletoa, where the great fight of Finau Ulukalala II took place and where Finau himself was buried in 1809. Parts of the great trench, and also a cave and underground river, may be seen at Feletoa. 669
133

An ancient but incredible tradition states that a long wall of coral stones at Makave, known as the Kilikilitefua, was made by casting a stone for every first-born son in the district. 349
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for every first-born son in the district. This wall stretches across an isthmus for 250 feet, with a thickness of 6 feet at the base and greatest height of 8 feet.

764

The great tomb (lagi) of Talafaiva, the beautiful wife of the illustrious Tu'i Toga, Tele'a, is on the island of 'Euakafa, in the south of Vava'u.

CAPES, BAYS, STRAITS AND REEFS.

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The chief capes in Togatabu are Niu Aunofu or Van Diemen Pt. in the north-west, Houma Toloa or Cook Pt. in the south, and Mui Hobohoga or East Cape. In Lifuka, Ha'abai, the capes are Hulu'ibaogo in the south-west (where Cook saw a mound named Ta'agakiki, now the site of a cemetery) and Muikuku in the north-west where Cook anchored and also where the "Port-au-Prince" was attacked. The chief capes of 'Uta Vava'u are Maitoulo, Fata, Maitalau, Muikilikili, Nukumalolo, Vaifakalava, Tubouniua, Mata'utuliki, Matakiniua and Houma Fakalele.

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103

The anchorage on the western shore of 'Eua was named English Roads by Cook. Maria Bay in the north-west of Togatabu was named by Tasman after Maria Van Diemen. In the lagoon of Togatabu, Faga Kakau and Faga 'Uta are sometimes marked as Bay of Bea and Bay of Mu'a. Port Maurelle in Kaba, Vava'u, commemorates the name of the Spanish discoverer. Boatalefusi is the local name of the far-famed harbour of Vava'u. Other bays in Vava'u are Port Refuge, Vaitutukakau, Liku'one and 'Onetale.

133

The chief straits or passages in Togatabu are Biha or Eastern Passage, Ava Lahi and Egeria Channel. Of the numerous straits marked on Ha'abai charts the most important are Ava Auhagamea, Ava Vaha'a-fonua and Ava Matanukubule. The chief channels in Vava'u are Ava Bulebulekai and Faihava.

164
224

Pelorus Reef, south of 'Ata, was discovered by H.M.S. "Pelorus" in 1861; it marks the southernmost extremity of Tongan waters. North-west of Togatabu are Hakau Tabu, where only the fishermen of the Tu'i Kanokubolu were allowed to fish, and Hakau Mama'o. West of Nomuka is Hakau Fiji, where a large steamer was wrecked in 1924. Hakau Muikuku, Hakau Faka'ojitome and Luahoko are the most well-known of the innumerable reefs of Ha'abai.

MOUNTAINS.

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The list of islands in Appendix E shows their heights. A Few hills are high enough to deserve names. The most important of these in Vava'u are Mo'ugalafa (610 feet), Talau (430 feet) and Kafua (430 feet), and in Kaba the hill Teisina (310 feet). Two small hills in Togatabu have names: Bobua or Holohiufi or Cook's Hill (108 feet), near Ma'ofaga, said to have been cast down from the sky by Tagaloa 'Eitumatubu'a to provide good soil for the garden of his son, 'Aho'eitu; and Velogo or Fugajia or Zion (60 feet), the site of the old fort and latterly of a church overlooking Nuku'alofa.

173 probably the first chief who refused to continue paying tribute to the king in
Manu'a. He was said to be the son of a god, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, who came
down to earth along a great tree and cohabited with a Tongatapu woman. This,
with other tales, indicates a race of Proto-Polynesians already living in Tongatapu
when the line of sacred kings, the Tu'i Tonga, began about 950 A.D.⁽²⁾

173 The old tales of Tonga and Samoa agree in relating that Samoa was subject
648 to Tongan overlordship for many years, until about 1250 A.D., when the first
Samoan chief named Malietoa received that complimentary title (meaning
"Congratulations on your victory") from the 15th Tu'i Tonga, Talakaifaiki,
whom the Samoan chief had vanquished and driven out of his land.

It is probable that, in the period of their domination over Samoa, the
Tongans were overlords also of other groups in the Central Pacific, as tales from
Rotuma, Uvea, Niue, and other islands to the north indicate. The Tongans' daring
voyages and far-ranging conquests made them "The Vikings of the Pacific".
[181] They acquired a reputation for arrogance that has not left them in modern times.

173 Another distinction which ancient Tongans merited came from their skill in
649 building monuments which stand today in eastern districts of Tongatapu. These
show the prowess of the kings who were able to command the labour of the
great numbers required to erect the forty-nine large terraced tombs, the Langi,
and the trilithon, the Ha'amonga.⁽³⁾

173 The stories narrated in the Tongans' poems revolved, naturally, around their
643 ancient kings. One of these described how, about the year 1470, the 24th Tu'i
Tonga, Kau'ulufonuafekai, handed over direct rule of the country to his brother
who then began a second line of rulers, the Tu'i Ha'atakalua. Indolence and
probably also a fear of assassination induced the Tu'i Tonga to take this action.
His father, Takalaua, 23rd Tu'i Tonga, had just been murdered. Henceforth the
Tu'i Tonga was satisfied to receive tribute and first-fruits given him as a religious
duty at his seat at Mu'a, in eastern Tongatapu. The position of Tu'i Tonga ceased
in 1865 when it was abolished by George Tupou I, Tu'i Kanokupolu and
Tonga's first constitutional ruler.

The first Tu'i Ha'atakalua, Mo'ungamotu'a, was a brother of the Tu'i Tonga,
Kan'ulufonuafekai, who had forgone the secular position. About the year 1610
the Tu'i Ha'atakalua at that time, Mo'ungatonga, followed the same pattern of
divesting himself of temporal power when he appointed his son, Ngata, to be
responsible for ruling the people, with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The mother
of Ngata was a Samoan lady, hence the name Kanokupolu (= "substance" of
[554] Upolu, a large island in Samoa). The last Tu'i Ha'atakalua died in 1799. Although
the title itself lapsed the descendants of this line have been given the chiefly
name of Tungi, prominent in modern Tongan history.

The positions of Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalua were hereditary. The
Tu'i Kanokupolu was elected by the leading chiefs who generally chose the
eldest son of the previous king.

175 The third line, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, ruled Tonga in temporal affairs when
643 Europeans, beachcombers and missionaries, came. This ruler's seat was in Hihifo,
[649] the western district of Tongatapu. His authority was not always respected by
some of the chiefs, especially the Ha'a (= tribe) Havea in the central district
of Tongatapu; their intermittent rebellions caused the civil wars at the turn of
the 18th-19th Centuries and continued in the opposition to George Tupou I
that lasted until fighting finally ceased in 1852.

Footnotes:

- (1) Thomas, John, *History of the Friendly Islands*, p.1, A.1961. M.L.S.
- (2) Luke, Sir Harry, *Islands of the South Pacific*.
- (3) Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, p.3.
- (4) W. W. Howells, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, believes that the first Polynesians came to Tonga through Micronesia about 2000 B.C. Carbon-testing by Jans Poulsen, of Denmark and the Australian National University, Canberra, indicated 500 B.C. as the date for middens he found in Tongatapu in 1965. See also Gifford, E. W., *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, pp.8 &c., for stories common to Tonga, Indonesia and Micronesia; Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p.350, for comparison of ancient Tongan and Japanese social institutions; Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History*, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3; Hadden, A. B. and Hornell, J., *Canoes of Oceania*, Bishop Museum, pp.339-44, regarding migration of the Polynesians through Indonesia and Micronesia; Sullivan, L. M., *A Contribution to Tongan Somatology*, Bishop Museum, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp.255-7; Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*; and Heyerdahl, Thor, *Sea Routes to Polynesia*, for another theory of migration.
- (5) Gifford, *ibid*; Collocott, *ibid*: "Folk Lore", Translations of the Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 35, No. 3, 30 September 1924, pp.279 &c.
- (6) Although a tradition states that the stones were brought in a great canoe, Lomipeau, from Uvea, which is actually a volcanic island, the stones were probably obtained from the coral reefs of Tongatapu itself. The transport of the huge stones on rollers and the erection of these monuments, using only stone axes, must have been very laborious. McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bishop Museum, gives details of the tombs and the trilithon; and Collocott also. The present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, has shown that the markings on the cross-piece of the trilithon point in the direction of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and evidently denoted the times for yam-planting and for giving first-fruits as a sacred duty to the Tu'i Tonga.
- (7) For further particulars on Tongan society, see Gifford, Collocott, and Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga*.
- (8) An example of this is the survival of a shipwrecked Tongan crew for 103 days in 1962 on Minerva Reef. Ruhen, Olaf, *Minerva Reef*.
- (9) Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands*, p.33, A.1961. M.L.S.
- (10) For further particulars of Tongan religion, see Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12, art. "Tongans", Dr. J. E. Moulton; Mariner, W., *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, &c., Vol. 2, pp.132 &c.; Gifford, *Tongan Society*, pp.287-347; Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands*, A.1961, M.L.S.; West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.255 &c.; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp.125 &c.
- (11) Cook, J., *Voyages of Discovery*, Everyman Edition, p.290.
- (12) Zimmermann, H., *Account of Third Voyage of Captain Cook*, p.17.
- (13) Cook, *ibid*, pp.287-8.
- (14) Cook, *ibid*, p.265.
- (15) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 27 July 1841. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
- (16) Langdon, Robert, *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 1, 1966, p.186.
- (17) Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1*, p.133.
- (18) Edwards & Hamilton, *ibid*, p.134.
- (19) Edwards & Hamilton, *ibid*, p.132.

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suddenly of a heart attack. His great-great-grandfather was Fatu with whom Walter Lawry stayed in 1822-3. His great-grandfather was 'Ulakai, the first convert of the two Tahitian teachers in 1826. In Church and State Tungi stood loyally beside the Queen with sound advice and unwavering integrity. He was beloved of his people in the Mu'a district, being generous in his allocation of land. Always a leader among old students of Tupou College, he was honoured by them in the erection of the Tungi Mailefihl Memorial Building at Toloa in 1957. 644 [349] [873]

Before the war, Tupou College had grown to 400 students and Queen Salote College to 170, all being boarders. In 1947 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Toloa, near Fua'amotu, 14 miles south-east of Nuku'alofa, for the sake of more gardening land; the enrolment grew to 700 in post-war years. Day girls were admitted to Queen Salote College until the number grew to 750; this school has an outstanding reputation for both academic and domestic training, as well as participation in national dances on important occasions. In 1949 middle schools were formed in various centres; this avoided overcrowding at the Colleges and improved the standards in Ha'apai, Vava'u and other places. The financial burden on the Church continued to grow heavier, even though, for instance, the head teacher in a Church school had only the same salary as a beginner on a Government school staff. The women of the Church in Australia gave some help, for example, with the building of the dormitory for 200 girls at Siu'ilikutapu College in Vava'u. 873 [795] [465] [797]

After the removal of Tupou College to Toloa, the property at Nafualu was used, from 1948 onwards, as a combined Theological College and Bible College, the latter for church stewards who were virtually assistant pastors in smaller villages. The Queen gave it a new name, Sia'atoutai, the place where nets are prepared for fishing. From 30 the number grew in 1970 to 126, with six young women training as deaconesses. The Rev. R. A. W. Woodgate was most successful in preparing students for the L.Th. examinations in 1951-61. By 1961 seven had gained the L.Th. at Sia'atoutai. After 1965 all L.Th. subjects were taught by Tongan teachers. 874 [103]

As the long-delayed project of building the Centenary Church finally developed, it was necessary to remove the building erected by the old Free Church in 1888. Accommodating 800, it was an excellent example of Tongan architecture. The large roof and supports were moved as one unit, mounted on two motor-trucks and 24 carts, with hundreds of willing helpers. What seemed the impossible feat of transporting this heavy structure intact more than 300 yards was accomplished in the presence of the Queen. 346

The new concrete church took almost three years to erect. It is 184 feet by 70 feet, with an imposing clock-tower, the largest church in the South Pacific, seating over 2,000. The architect was Mr. W. C. Brown and the foreman of works, Mr. R. L. Pearson, both of Sydney; the Tongan foreman was Amini Fonua. Much of the work was done voluntarily by church people. The actual cost was £40,000. On 27 September 1952 it was opened by the Queen and dedicated by the visiting ex-President-General, Dr. H. G. Secomb. [435]

On the whole, the Free Wesleyan Church may well feel that it has benefited greatly from royal approval and encouragement. The Queen was always wholeheartedly involved in the faith and witness of the Church at every level. This was much more important than the exercise of her constitutional prerogative of approving the election of the President of Conference each year. Whether the 795 643

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is that only a large, well-organized community could have put up these structures (Mc Kern, p. 67 ff., 120 ff.). To his mind these structures are well beyond the powers of a village chief, who can count on the help of only a few well-disposed villagers. Only rulers highly elevated above the common folk have the power to have this done. If the time-scheme of Gifford (p. 49 ff.) is correct, these rulers must have borne the title of *Tui Tonga* (i.e., Lord of Tonga). Working back from the year 1865 in which the last *Tui Tonga* died, and assuming an average reign of 25 years, this dynasty, of which the list of generations mentions 39 successive rulers,¹ may have come to power in the 10th century.²

[173] The first *Tui Tonga*, the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ahoeitu, is supposed to have had a divine father, who seduced a woman on earth (Collocott 1924, p. 169; Gifford, p. 52; Buck, p. 300). The building of the famous trilithon Haamonga a Maui, a sort of gate built of three enormous blocks of stone, is ascribed to one of his descendants, the 11th *Tui Tonga* Tuitatui. Collocott (1924, p. 171) dates this king about 1200. Thomson (1902, p. 83) dates him in the 14th century.

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According to traditional history Samoa was turned into a kind of colony during the reign of the 15th *Tui Tonga* (Ella, p. 231; Collocott 1924, p. 175; Williamson I, p. 143; Gifford, p. 54). A comparison with Samoan traditions confirms this (Schultz-Ewerth, p. 66; Buck, p. 302; Suggs, p. 99). This subjection was only temporary, but after the loss of this colony the relations with Samoa still continue.

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Under the 25th *Tui Tonga* Kauulufonuafekai, who must have ruled about 1470, a change in government was effected which would have important consequences for the future. For he appointed his brother hereditary head of the government and war leader, and reserved the sacral part of his office for himself "... which gave him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women" (Gifford, p. 56).³ His brother, the head of the Haa Takalaua (the Takalaua family), bore the title of *Hau* as a temporal prince, but customarily this ruler

[114] ¹ We find this list in Gifford, p. 50. Although largely agreeing, the genealogies as we find them in Thomson 1894, p. 304 ff. and Collocott 1924, p. 166 ff. differ in detail.

[114] ² Estimating the average number of years for one generation is a speculative business. Suggs, p. 53, shows how a term of 25 years in certain cases can lead to utterly incorrect results. In Collocott's article (1924, p. 182 ff.) 21 *Tui Kanakupolu* are mentioned, who reigned altogether from 1650 to 1965 (death of queen Salote). The average period of government would then be about 15 years. See on this also Mc Kern, p. 100 ff. and Williamson I, p. 13.

³ Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55; Collocott 1924, p. 176 ff.; Williamson I, p. 143 ff.; Gifford, p. 55 ff.; Koch, p. 107.

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771 in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed
177 between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of
(797) human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga.
349 Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)
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682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga
/cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers, the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred, as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu.

532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be mentioned.

341 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works
532 of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time
178 because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on
538 in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeanization, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands, however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang